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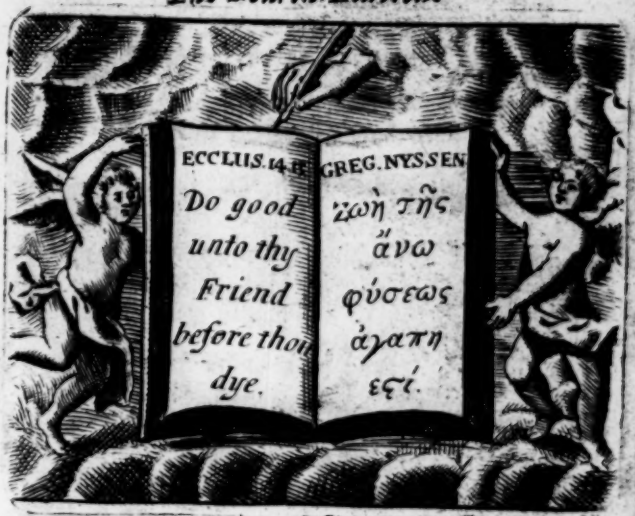

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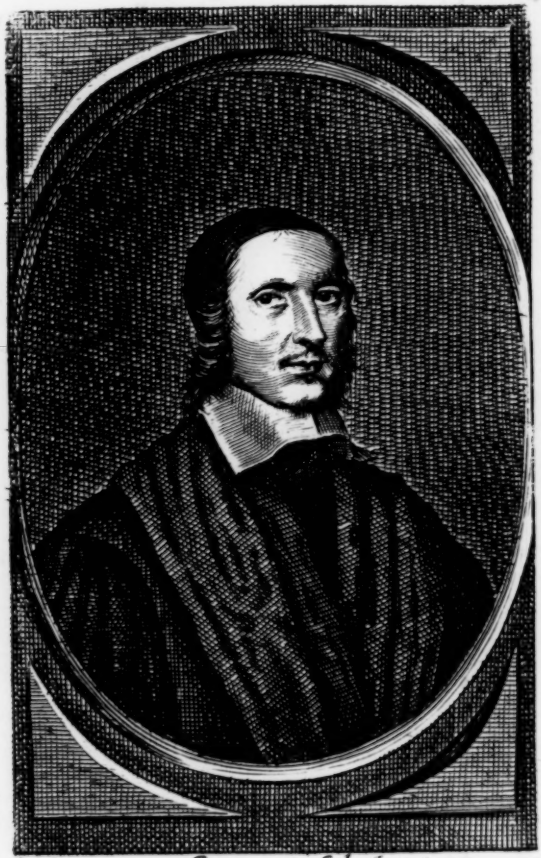

Non magna loquimur sed vivimus.
Nihil opinionis Gratia. omnia
Conscientiæ faciam.

1513:90

E.15.4

The WORKS *of* JER. TAYLOR *late B. of* Down *and* Connor, *in Five Volumes, Extant.*

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A DISCOURSE OF THE Nature and Offices OF *FRIENDSHIP.*

In a Letter to the moſt ingenious and Excellent Mrs. Katherine Phillips.

MADAM,

THE wiſe *Benſirach* adviſed that we ſhould not conſult with a woman concerning her of whom ſhe is jealous, neither with a Coward in matters of War, nor with a Merchant concerning exchange; and ſome other inſtances he gives of intereſted per-

ſons, to whom he would not have us hearken in any matter of Counſel. For wherever the intereſt is *ſecular* or *vicious*, there the biaſs is not on the ſide of *truth* or *reaſon*, becauſe *theſe* are ſeldom ſerv'd by profit and low regards. But to conſult with a friend in the matters of friendſhip is like conſulting with a ſpiritual perſon in Religion; they who underſtand the ſecrets of Religion, or the interior beauties of friendſhip are the fitteſt to give anſwers in all inquiries concerning the reſpective ſubjects; becauſe *reaſon* and *experience* are on the ſide of *intereſt*; and that which in friendſhip is moſt *pleaſing* and moſt *uſeful*, is alſo moſt *reaſonable* and moſt *true*; and a friends faireſt intereſt is the beſt meaſure of the conducting friendſhips: and therefore you who are ſo eminent in friendſhips could alſo have given the beſt anſwer to your own inquiries, and you could have truſted your own reaſon, becauſe it is not only greatly inſtructed by the direct notices of things, but alſo by great experience in the matter of which you now enquire.

But becauſe I will not uſe any thing that ſhall look like an excuſe, I will rather give you

you ſuch an account which you can eaſily reprove, than by declining your commands, ſeem more ſafe in my prudence, than open and communicative in my friendſhip to you.

You firſt inquire how far a Dear and a perfect friendſhip is authoriz'd by the principles of Chriſtianity?

To this I anſwer; That the word [*Friendſhip*] in the ſence we commonly mean by it, is not ſo much as named in the New Teſtament; and our Religion takes no notice of it. You think it ſtrange; but read on before you ſpend ſo much as the beginning of a paſſion or a wonder upon it. There is mention of [*Friendſhip with the world,*] and it is ſaid to be *enmity with God*; but the word is no where elſe named, or to any other purpoſe in all the New Teſtament. It ſpeaks of Friends often; but by *Friends* are meant our acquaintance, or our Kindred, the relatives of our family or our fortune, or our ſect; ſomething of ſociety, or ſomething of kindneſs there is in it; a tenderneſs of appellation and civility, a relation made

by gifts, or by duty, by ſervices and ſubjection; and I think, I have reaſon to be confident, that the word *friend* (ſpeaking of humane entercourſe) is no other ways uſed in the Goſpels or Epiſtles, or Acts of the Apoſtles: and the reaſon of it is, the word *friend* is of a large ſignification; and means all relations and ſocieties, and whatſoever is not *enemy*; but by *friendſhips*, I ſuppoſe you mean, *the greateſt love, and the greateſt uſefulneſs, and the moſt open communication, and the nobleſt ſufferings, and the moſt exemplar faithfulneſs, and the ſevereſt truth, and the heartieſt counſel, and the greateſt union of minds*, of which brave men and women are capable. But then I muſt tell you that Chriſtianity hath new chriſtened it, and calls this *Charity*. The Chriſtian knows no enemy he hath; that is, though perſons may be injurious to him, and unworthy in themſelves, yet he knows none whom he is not firſt bound to forgive, which is indeed to make them on his part to be no enemies, that is, to make that the word *enemy* ſhall not be perfectly contrary to *friend*, it ſhall not be a relative term and ſignifie ſomething on each hand, a *relative* and a *correlative*;

lative; and then he knows none whom he is not bound to love and pray for, to treat kindly and juſtly, liberally and obligingly. Chriſtian Charity is a Friendſhip to all the world; and when Friendſhips were the nobleſt things in the world, Charity was little, like the Sun drawn in at a chink, or his beams drawn into the centre of a Burning-Glaſs; but Chriſtian charity is Friendſhip, expanded like the face of the Sun when it mounts above the Eaſtern hills: and I was ſtrangely pleas'd when I ſaw ſomething of this in CICERO; for I have been ſo puſh'd at by herds and flocks of People that follow any body that whiſtles to them, or drives them to paſture, that I am grown afraid of any Truth that ſeems chargeable with ſingularity: but therefore I ſay, glad I was when I ſaw *Lælius* in *Cicero* diſcourſe thus: *Amicitia ex infinitate generis humani quam conciliavit ipſa natura, contracta res eſt, & adducta in anguſtum; ut omnis charitas, aut inter duos, aut inter paucos jungeretur.* Nature hath made friendſhips, and ſocieties, relations and endearments; and by ſomething or other we relate to all the World; there is enough in every man that is wil-

ling, to make him become our friend; but when men contract friendships, they incloſe the Commons; and what Nature intended ſhould be every mans, we make proper to two or three. Friendſhip is like rivers and the ſtrand of ſeas, and the air, common to all the World; but Tyrants, and evil cuſtoms, wars, and want of love have made them proper and peculiar. But when Chriſtianity came to renew our nature, and to reſtore our laws, and to increaſe her priviledges, and to make her aptneſs to become religion, then it was declared that our friendſhips were to be as univerſal as our converſation; that is, *actual* to all with whom we converſe, and *potentially extended* unto thoſe with whom we did not. For he who was to treat his enemies with forgiveneſs and prayers, and love and beneficence was indeed to have no enemies, and to have all friends.

So that to your queſtion, how far a Dear and perfect friendſhip is authoriz'd by the principles of Chriſtianity? The anſwer is ready and eaſie. It is warranted to extend to all Mankind; and the more we love, the better

better we are, and the greater our friendſhips are, the dearer we are to God; let them be as Dear, and let them be as perfect, and let them be as many as you can; there is no danger in it; only where the reſtraint begins, there begins our imperfection; it is not ill that you entertain brave friendſhips and worthy ſocieties: it were well if you could *love*, and if you could *benefit* all Mankind; for I conceive that is the ſum of all friendſhip.

I confeſs this is not to be expected of us in this world; but as all our graces here are but imperfect, that is, at the beſt they are but tendencies to glory, ſo our friendſhips are imperfect too, and but beginnings of a celeſtial friendſhip, by which we ſhall love every one as much as they can be loved. But then ſo we muſt here *in our proportion*; and indeed that is it that can make the difference; we muſt be friends to all: That is, apt to do good, loving them really, and doing to them all the benefits which we can, and which they are capable of. The Friendſhip is equal to all the World, and of it ſelf hath no difference; but is differenced only by accidents,

and by the capacity or incapacity of them that receive it. *Nature* and *Religion* are the *bands* of friendſhips; *excellency* and *uſefulneſs* are its great *indearments*: *ſociety* and *neighbourhood*, that is, the poſſibilities and the circumſtances of converſe are the *determinations* and *actualities* of it. Now when men either are unnatural, or irreligious, they *will not* be friends; when they are neither excellent nor uſeful, *they are not worthy* to be friends; when they are ſtrangers or unknown, they *cannot be friends* actually and practically; but yet, as any man hath any thing of the good, contrary to thoſe evils, ſo he can have and muſt have his ſhare of friendſhip. For thus the Sun is the eye of the World; and he is indifferent to the Negro, or the cold Ruſſian, to them that dwell under the line, and them that ſtand near the Tropicks, the ſcalded Indian, or the poor boy that ſhakes at the foot of the Riphean hills; but the fluxures of the heaven and the earth, the conveniency of abode, and the approaches to the North or South reſpectively charge the emanations of his beams; not that they do not paſs always from him, but that they are not equally received below, but by periods

periods and changes, by little inlets and reflections, they receive what they can; and ſome have only a dark day and a long night from him, ſnows and white cattel, a miſerable life, and a perpetual harveſt of Catarrhs and Conſumptions, Apoplexies and Dead Palſies; but ſome have ſplendid fires, and aromatick ſpices, rich wines, and well digeſted fruits, great wit and great courage; becauſe they dwell in his eye, and look in his face, and are the Courtiers of the Sun, and wait upon him in his Chambers of the Eaſt; juſt ſo is it in friendſhips: ſome are worthy, and ſome are neceſſary; ſome dwell hard by and are fitted for converſe; Nature joyns ſome to us, and Religion combines us with others; ſociety and accidents, parity of fortune, and equal diſpoſitions do actuate our friendſhips: which of themſelves and in their prime diſpoſition are prepared for all Mankind according as any one can receive them. We ſee this beſt exemplified by two inſtances and expreſſions of friendſhips and charity: *viz. Alms* and *Prayers*; Every one that needs relief is equally the object of our charity; but though to all mankind in equal needs we

ought to be alike in charity; yet we signifie this severally and by limits, and distinct measures: the poor man that is near me, he whom I meet, he whom I love, he whom I fancy, he who did me benefit, he who relates to my family, he rather then another, because my expressions being finite and narrow, and cannot extend to all in equal significations, must be appropriate to those whose circumstances best fit me: and yet even to all I give my alms; to all the World that needs them; I pray for all mankind, I am grieved at every sad story I hear; I am troubled when I hear of a pretty Bride murdered in her bride-chamber by an ambitious and enrag'd Rival; I shed a tear when I am told that a brave King was misunderstood, then slandered, then imprisoned, and then put to death by evil men: and I can never read the story of the Parisian Massacre, or the Sicilian Vespers, but my blood curdles, and I am disorder'd by two or three affections. A good man is a friend to all the World; and he is not truly charitable that does not wish well, and do good to all mankind in what he can; but though we must pray for

for all men, yet we ſay ſpecial Litanies for brave Kings and holy Prelates, and the wiſe Guides of ſouls; for our Brethren and Relations, our Wives and Children.

The effect of this conſideration is, that the Univerſal friendſhip of which I ſpeak, muſt be *limited*, becauſe *we are ſo*: In thoſe things where we ſtand next to immenſity and infinity, as in good wiſhes and prayers, and a *readineſs* to benefit all mankind, in theſe our friendſhips muſt not be limited; but in other things which paſs under our hand and eye, our voices and our material exchanges; our hands can reach no further but to our arms end, and our voices can but ſound till the next air be quiet, and therefore they can have entercourſe but within the ſphere of their own activity; our needs and our converſations are ſerved by a few, and they cannot reach to all; where they can, they muſt; but *where it is impoſſible, it cannot be neceſſary*. It muſt therefore follow, that our friendſhips to mankind may admit variety as does our converſation; and as by nature we are made *ſociable* to all, ſo we are *friendly*; but as all cannot actually;

ally be of our ſociety, ſo neither can all be admitted to a ſpecial, actual friendſhip; Of *ſome entercourſes* all men are capable, but *not of all*; Men can pray for one another, and abſtain from doing injuries to all the world, and be deſirous to do all, mankind good, and love all men; Now this friendſhip we muſt pay to all becauſe we can, but if we can do no more to all, we muſt ſhew our readineſs to do more good to all by actually doing more good to all them to whom we can.

To ſome we can, and therefore there are nearer friendſhips to ſome than to others, according as there are natural or civil nearneſſes, relations and ſocieties; and as I cannot expreſs my friendſhips to all in equal meaſures and ſignifications, that is, as I cannot do benefits to all alike: ſo neither am I tied to love all alike: for although there is much reaſon to love every man; yet there are more reaſons to love ſome than others; and if I muſt love becauſe there is reaſon I ſhould; then I muſt *love more*, where there is *more reaſon*; and where there's a ſpecial affection and a great readineſs to do good and to delight

delight in certain perſons towards each other, there is that ſpecial charity and indearment which Philoſophy calls *friendſhip*; but our Religion calls *love* or *charity*. Now if the enquiry be concerning this ſpecial friendſhip. 1. *How it can be appropriate*, that is, who to be choſen to it; 2. *how far it may extend*; that is, with what expreſſions ſignified; 3. *how conducted*? The anſwers will depend upon ſuch conſiderations which will be neither uſeleſs nor unpleaſant.

1. There may be a ſpecial friendſhip contracted for any ſpecial excellency whatſoever; becauſe *friendſhips are nothing but love and ſociety mixt together*; that is, *a converſing with them whom we love*; now for whatſoever we can love any one, for that we can be his friend; and ſince every excellency is a degree of amability, every ſuch worthineſs is a juſt and proper motive of friendſhip, or loving converſation. But yet in theſe things there is an order and proportion. Therefore

2. A good man is the beſt friend, and therefore ſooneſt to be choſen, longer to be

be retain'd; and indeed never to be parted with, unleſs he ceaſe to be that for which he was choſen.

Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀρετὴ ποιεῖ φίλον ὁςὶς ἄριςος,
Μήποτε δ' κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι ἑταῖρον.

Where vertue dwells there friendſhips make,
But evil neighbourhoods forſake.

But although vertue alone is the worthieſt cauſe of amability, and can weigh down any one conſideration; and therefore to a man that is vertuous every man ought to be a friend; yet I do not mean the ſevere, and philoſophical excellencies of ſome moroſe perſons who are indeed wiſe unto themſelves, and exemplar to others: by *vertue* here I do not mean *juſtice* and *temperance*, *charity* and *devotion*; for theſe I am to love the man, but friendſhip is ſomething more than that: *Friendſhip is the neareſt love and the neareſt ſociety* of which the perſons are capable: Now juſtice is a good entercourſe for Merchants, as all men are that buy and ſell; and temperance

perance makes a Man good company, and helps to make a wiſe man; but a perfect friendſhip requires ſomething elſe, theſe muſt be in him that is choſen to be my friend; but for theſe I do not make him my *privado*; that is, my ſpecial and peculiar friend: but if he be *a good man*, then he is properly fitted to be my correlative in the nobleſt combination.

And for this we have the beſt warrant in the world: *For a juſt man ſcarcely will a man die*; the Syriac interpreter reads it, ὑπὲρ ἀδίκου *for an unjuſt man ſcarcely will a man die*; that is, a wicked man is at no hand fit to receive the expreſſion of the greateſt friendſhip; but all the Greek copies that ever I ſaw, or read of, read it as we do; *for a righteous man or a juſt man*, that is, juſtice and righteouſneſs is not the neareſt indearment of friendſhip; but for *a good man* ſome will even dare to die: that is, for a man that is ſweetly diſpoſed, ready to do acts of goodneſs and to oblige others, to do things uſeful and profitable, for a loving man, a beneficent, bountiful man, one who delights in doing good to his friend, ſuch a man may have the

the higheſt friendſhip; he may have a friend that will die for him. And this is the meaning of *Lælius*: Vertue may be deſpiſed, ſo may Learning and Nobility; *at una eſt amicitia in rebus humanis de cujus utilitate omnes conſentiunt*: only friendſhip is that thing, which becauſe all know to be uſeful and profitable, no man can deſpiſe; that is χρηστότης, or ἀγαθότης, goodneſs or beneficence makes friendſhips. For if he be a good man he will love where he is beloved, and that's the firſt tie of Friendſhip.

Ἀλλήλους ἐφίλησαν ἴσῳ ζυγῷ.

That was the commendation of the braveſt friendſhip in *Theocritus*,

They lov'd each other with a love
That did in all things equal prove.

------Ἦ ῥα τοτ' ἦσαν
χρυσέοι πάλαι ἄνδρες ὀχ' ἀντιφίλησ' ὁ φιληθείς.

The World was under Saturn's reign
When he that lov'd was lov'd again.

For

For it is impoſſible this nearneſs of friendſhip can be where there is not mutual love; but this is ſecured if I chuſe a good man; for he that is apt enough to begin alone, will never be behind in the relation and correſpondency; and therefore I like the Gentiles Litany well,

Ζεύς μοι τ' τε φίλων δοίη τισὶν οἵ με φιλεῦσι
Ὄλβιοι οἱ φιλέοντες, ἐπὴν ἴσον ἀντεραῶνται.

Let God give friends to me for my reward,
Who ſhall my love with equal love regard;
Happy are they, who when they give their heart
Find ſuch as in exchange their own impart.

But there is more in it than this felicity amounts to. For χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ *the good man* is a profitable, uſeful perſon, and that's the band of an effective friendſhip. For I do not think that friendſhips are Metaphyſical nothings, created for contemplation,

templation, or that Men or Women should stare upon each others faces, and make dialogues of news and prettinesses, and look Babies in one anothers eyes. Friendship is the allay of our sorrows, the ease of our passions, the discharge of our oppressions, the sanctuary to our calamities, the counsellor of our doubts, the clarity of our minds, the emission of our thoughts, the exercise and improvement of what we meditate: And although I love my friend because he is worthy, yet he is not worthy if he can do no good. I do not speak of accidental hindrances and misfortunes by which the bravest man may become unable to help his Child; but of the natural and artificial capacities of the man. He only is fit to be chosen for a friend, who can do those offices for which friendship is excellent. For (mistake not) no man can be loved for himself; our perfections in this World cannot reach so high; it is well if we would love God at that rate, and I very much fear, that if God did us no good, we might admire his Beauties, but we should have but a small proportion of love towards him; and therefore it is, that God

to

to endear *the obedience*, that is, *the love* of his ſervants, ſignifies what benefits he gives us, what great good things he does for us. *I am the Lord God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt* : and *does Job ſerve God for nought*? and *he that comes to God, muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder:* all his other greatneſſes are objects of fear and wonder, it is his goodneſs that makes him lovely: and ſo it is in friendſhips. He only is fit to be choſen for a friend who can give counſel, or defend my cauſe, or guide me right, or relieve my need, or can and will, when I need it, do me good: only this I add: into the heaps of doing good, I will reckon [*loving me*] for it is a pleaſure to be beloved, but when his love ſignifies nothing but kiſſing my cheek, or talking kindly, and can go no further, it is a proſtitution of the bravery of friendſhip to ſpend it upon impertinent people who are (it may be) loads to their families, but can never eaſe my loads: but my friend is a worthy perſon when he can become to me inſtead of God, a guide or a ſupport, an eye, or a hand; a ſtaff, or a rule: There muſt be in friendſhip ſomething

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to endear *the obedience*, that is, *the love* of his ſervants, ſignifies what benefits he gives us, what great good things he does for us. *I am the Lord God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt* : and *does Job ſerve God for nought?* and *he that comes to God, muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder:* all his other greatneſſes are objects of fear and wonder, it is his goodneſs that makes him lovely: and ſo it is in friendſhips. He only is fit to be choſen for a friend who can give counſel, or defend my cauſe, or guide me right, or relieve my need, or can and will, when I need it, do me good: only this I add: into the heaps of doing good, I will reckon [*loving me*] for it is a pleaſure to be beloved, but when his love ſignifies nothing but kiſſing my cheek, or talking kindly, and can go no further, it is a proſtitution of the bravery of friendſhip to ſpend it upon impertinent people who are (it may be) loads to their families, but can never eaſe my loads: but my friend is a worthy perſon when he can become to me inſtead of God, a guide or a ſupport, an eye, or a hand; a ſtaff, or a rule: There muſt be in friendſhip ſome-

thing

thing to diſtinguiſh it from a Companion, and a Countrey man, from a School-fellow or a Goſſip, from a Sweet-heart or a Fellow-traveller: Friendſhip may look in at any one of theſe doors, but it ſtays not any where till it come to be the beſt thing in the world: and when we conſider that one man is not better than another, neither towards God nor towards Man, but by doing better and braver things, we ſhall alſo ſee, that that which is moſt beneficent is alſo moſt excellent; and therefore thoſe friendſhips muſt needs be moſt perfect, where the friends can be moſt uſeful. For men cannot be uſeful but by worthineſſes in the ſeveral inſtances: a fool cannot be relyed upon for counſel, nor a vicious perſon for the advantages of vertue, nor a beggar for relief, nor a ſtranger for conduct, nor a tatler to keep a ſecret, nor a pitileſs perſon truſted with my complaint, nor a covetous man with my childs fortune, nor a falſe perſon without a witneſs, nor a ſuſpitious perſon with a private deſign; nor him that I fear with the treaſures of my love: But he that is wiſe and vertuous, rich and at hand, cloſe and merciful, free of his money and tenacious of a ſecret,

ſecret, open and ingenuous, true and honeſt, is of himſelf an excellent man; and therefore fit to be loved; and he can do good to me in all capacities where I can need him, and therefore is fit to be a friend. I confeſs we are forced in our friendſhips to abate ſome of theſe ingredients; but full meaſures of friendſhip, would have full meaſures of worthineſs; and according as any defect is in the foundation; in the relation alſo there may be imperfection: and indeed I ſhall not blame the friendſhip ſo it be worthy, though it be not perfect; not only becauſe friendſhip is charity, which cannot be perfect here, but becauſe there is not in the World a perfect cauſe of perfect friendſhip.

If you can ſuſpect that this diſcourſe can ſuppoſe friendſhip to be mercenary, and to be defective in the greateſt worthineſs of it, which is to love our friend for our friends ſake, I ſhall eaſily be able to defend my ſelf; becauſe I ſpeak of the election and reaſons of chuſing friends: after he is choſen do as nobly as you talk, and love as purely as you dream, and let your converſation be as metaphyſical as your

thing to distinguish it from a Companion, and a Countrey man, from a School-fellow or a Gossip, from a Sweet-heart or a Fellow-traveller: Friendship may look in at any one of these doors, but it stays not any where till it come to be the best thing in the world: and when we consider that one man is not better than another, neither towards God nor towards Man, but by doing better and braver things, we shall also see, that that which is most beneficent is also most excellent; and therefore those friendships must needs be most perfect, where the friends can be most useful. For men cannot be useful but by worthinesses in the several instances: a fool cannot be relyed upon for counsel, nor a vicious person for the advantages of vertue, nor a beggar for relief, nor a stranger for conduct, nor a tatler to keep a secret, nor a pitiless person trusted with my complaint, nor a covetous man with my childs fortune, nor a false person without a witness, nor a suspitious person with a private design; nor him that I fear with the treasures of my love: But he that is wise and vertuous, rich and at hand, close and merciful, free of his money and tenacious of a secret,

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your diſcourſe, and proceed in this method, till you be confuted by experience: yet till then, the caſe is otherwiſe when we ſpeak of chooſing one to be my friend: He is not my friend till I have choſen him or loved him; and if any man enquires whom he ſhall chooſe, or whom he ſhould love, I ſuppoſe it ought not to be anſwered, that we ſhould love him who hath leaſt amability; that we ſhould chooſe him who hath leaſt reaſon to be choſen: But if it be anſwered, he is to be choſen to be my friend who is moſt worthy in himſelf, not he that can do moſt good to me; I ſay, here is a diſtinction but no difference; for he is moſt worthy in himſelf who can do moſt good; and if he can love me too, that is, if he will do me all the good he can, that I need, then he is my friend and he deſerves it. And it is impoſſible from a friend to ſeparate a will to do me good: and therefore I do not chooſe well, if I chooſe one that hath not power; for if it may conſiſt with the nobleneſs of friendſhip to deſire that my friend be ready to do me benefit or ſupport, it is not ſenſe to ſay, it is ignoble to deſire he ſhould really do it when I need; and if it were

not

not for pleaſure or profit, we might as well be without a friend as have him.

Among all the pleaſures and profits, the *ſenſual pleaſure* and the *matter of money* are the loweſt and the leaſt; and therefore although they may ſometimes be uſed in friendſhip, and ſo not wholly excluded from the conſideration of him that is to chuſe, yet of all things they are to be the leaſt regarded.

Ἐν τοῖς δὲ δεινοῖς, χρημάτων κρείττων φίλος.

When fortune frowns upon a Man,
A friend does more than money can.

For there are beſides theſe, many profits and many pleaſures; and becauſe theſe only are ſordid, all the other are noble and fair, and the expectations of them no diſparagements to the beſt friendſhips. For can any wiſe or good man be angry if I ſay, I chuſe this man to be my friend, becauſe he is able to give me counſel, to reſtrain my wandrings, to comfort me in my ſorrows; he is pleaſant to me in private,

vate, and uſeful in publick; he will make my joys double, and divide my grief between himſelf and me? For what elſe ſhould I chuſe; For being a fool, and uſeleſs; for a pretty face or a ſmooth chin? I confeſs it is poſſible to be a friend to one that is ignorant, and pitiable, handſome and good for nothing, that eats well and drinks deep, but he cannot be a friend to me; and I love him with a fondneſs or a pity, but it cannot be a noble friendſhip.

ἐκ ἐᾶ πότων χ᾽ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τρυφῆς
Ζητῦμεν ᾧ πιστεύσωμεν τὰ τῦ βίυ
Πάτερ; ὁ περιτλὸν οἵσι τ᾽ ἐξευρηκέναι
Ἀγαθὸν ἕκασος ἐὰν ἔχῃ φίλυ σκίαν.

ſaid *Menander*.

By Wine and mirth and every days delight
We chuſe our friends, to whom we think we might
Our Souls intruſt; but fools are they that lend
Their boſom to the ſhadow of a friend.

Εἴδωλα καὶ μιμήματα φιλίας, *Plutarch* calls ſuch friendſhips, the Idols and Images of friendſhip. True and brave friendſhips are between worthy perſons; and there is in Mankind no degree of worthineſs, but is alſo a degree of uſefulneſs, and by every thing by which a man is excellent, I may be profited: and becauſe thoſe are the braveſt friends which can beſt ſerve the ends of friendſhips, either we muſt ſuppoſe that friendſhips are not the greateſt comforts in the World, or elſe we muſt ſay, he chuſes his friend beſt, that chuſes ſuch a one by whom he can receive the greateſt comforts and aſſiſtances.

3. This being the meaſure of all friendſhips; they all partake of excellency, according as they are fitted to this meaſure: a friend may be counſelled well enough though his friend be not the wiſeſt man in the world, and he may be pleaſed in his ſociety though he be not the beſt natured man in the world; but ſtill it muſt be, that ſomething excellent is, or is aprehended, or elſe it can be no worthy friendſhip; becauſe the choice is impru-

dent and fooliſh. Chuſe for your friend him that is wiſe and good, and ſecret and juſt, ingenuous and honeſt; and in thoſe things which have a latitude, uſe your own liberty; but in ſuch things which conſiſt in an indiviſible point, make no abatements; That is, you muſt not chuſe him to be your friend that is not honeſt and ſecret, juſt and true to a tittle; but if he be wiſe at all, and uſeful in any degree, and as good as you can have him, you need not be aſhamed to own your friendſhips; though ſometimes you may be aſhamed of ſome imperfections of your friend.

4. But if you yet enquire further, whether fancy may be an ingredient in your choice? I anſwer, that fancy may miniſter to this as to all other actions in which there is a liberty and variety; and we ſhall find that there may be peculiarities and little partialities, a *friendſhip, improperly ſo called*, entring upon accounts of an innocent paſſion and a pleas'd fancy; even our Bleſſed Saviour himſelf loved Saint *John* and *Lazarus* by a ſpecial love, which was ſignified by ſpecial treatments; and of

of the young man that ſpake well and wiſely to Chriſt, it is affirmed, *Jeſus loved him*: that is, he fancied the man, and his ſoul had a certain cognation and ſimilitude of temper and inclination. For in all things where there is a latitude, every faculty will endeavour to be pleaſed, and ſometimes the meaneſt perſons in a houſe have a feſtival; even ſympathies and natural inclinations to ſome perſons, and a conformity of humours, and proportionable loves, and the beauty of the face, and a witty anſwer may firſt ſtrike the flint and kindle a ſpark, which if it falls upon tender and compliant natures may grow into a flame; but this will never be maintained at the rate of friendſhip, unleſs it be fed by pure materials, by *worthineſſes* which *are the food of friendſhip*: where theſe are not, Men and Women may be pleaſed with one anothers company, and lye under the ſame roof, and make themſelves companions of equal proſperities, and humour their friend; but if you call this friendſhip, you give a ſacred name to humour or fancy, for there is a Platonick friendſhip as well as a Platonick love; but they being but the Images of more

noble bodies are but like tinsel dressings, which will shew bravely by candle-light, and do excellently in a mask, but are not fit for conversation, and the material entercourses of our life. These are the prettinesses of prosperity and good-natured wit; but when we speak of friendship, which is the best thing in the World (for it is love and beneficence; it is charity that is fitted for society) we cannot suppose a brave pile should be built up with nothing; and they that build Castles in the air, and look upon friendship, as upon a fine Romance, a thing that pleases the fancy, but is good for nothing else, will do well when they are asleep, or when they are come to *Elysium*; and for ought I know in the mean time may be as much in love with *Mandana* in the *Grand Cyrus*, as with the *Infanta of Spain*, or any of the most perfect beauties and real excellencies of the world: and by dreaming of perfect and abstracted friendships, make them so immaterial that they perish in the handling and become good for nothing.

But I know not whither I was going; I did only mean to say that because friend-

ship

ſhip is that by which the world is moſt bleſſed and receives moſt good, it ought to be choſen amongſt the worthieſt perſons, that is, amongſt thoſe that can do greateſt benefit to each other; and though in equal worthineſs I may chuſe by my eye, or ear, that is, into the conſideration of the eſſential I may take in alſo the accidental and extrinſick worthineſſes; yet I ought to give every one their juſt value; when the internal beauties are equal, theſe ſhall help to weigh down the ſcale, and I will love a worthy friend that can delight me as well as profit me, rather than him who cannot delight me at all, and profit me *no more*; but yet I will not weigh the gayeſt flowers, or the wings of butterflies againſt wheat; but when I am to chuſe wheat, I may take that which looks the brighteſt: I had rather ſee Thyme and Roſes, Marjoram and July-flowers that are fair and ſweet and medicinal, than the prettieſt Tulips that are good for nothing: And my Sheep and Kine are better ſervants than Race-horſes and Gray-hounds: And I ſhall rather furniſh my Study with *Plutarch* and *Cicero*, with *Livy* and *Polybius*, than with *Caſſandra* and *Ibrahim Baſſa*;

and if I do give an hour to theſe for divertiſement or pleaſure, yet I will dwell with them that can inſtruct me, and make me wiſe and eloquent, ſevere and uſeful to my ſelf and others. I end this with the ſaying of *Lælius* in *Cicero*: *Amicitia non debet conſequi utilitatem, ſed amicitiam utilitas.* When I chuſe my friend, I will not ſtay till I have received a kindneſs; but I will chuſe ſuch an one that can do me many if I need them: But I mean ſuch kindneſſes which make me wiſer, and which make me better; that is, I will when I chuſe my friend, chuſe him that is the braveſt, the worthieſt and the moſt excellent perſon: and then your firſt Queſtion is ſoon anſwered; to love ſuch a perſon and to contract ſuch friendſhips is juſt ſo authorized by the principles of Chriſtianity, as it is warranted to love wiſdom and vertue, goodneſs and beneficence, and all the impreſſes of God upon the ſpirits of brave men.

2. The next inquiry is *how far it may extend*? That is, by what expreſſions it may be ſignified? I find that *David* and *Jonathan* loved at a ſtrange rate; they were

were both good men; though it happened that *Jonathan* was on the obliging ſide; but here the expreſſions were; *Jonathan* watched for *Davids* good; told him of his danger, and helped him to eſcape; took part with *Davids* innocence againſt his Fathers malice and injuſtice; and beyond all this, did it to his own prejudice; and they two ſtood like two feet ſupporting one body; though *Jonathan* knew that *David* would prove like the foot of a Wreſtler, and would ſupplant him, not by any unworthy or unfriendly action, but it was from God; and he gave him his hand to ſet him upon his own Throne.

We find his parallels in the Gentiles ſtories: young *Athenodorus* having divided the eſtate with his Brother *Xenon*; divided it again when *Xenon* had ſpent his own ſhare; and *Lucullus* would not take the Conſulſhip till his younger brother had firſt enjoyed it for a year; but *Pollux* divided with *Caſtor* his immortality; and you know who offer'd himſelf to death being pledge for his friend; and his friend by performing his word reſcued him as bravely: and when we find in Scripture that

for a good man ſome will even dare to die and that *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* laid their necks down for S. *Paul*; and the *Galatians* would have given him their very eyes, that is, every thing that was moſt dear to them, and ſome others were near unto death for his ſake; and that it is a precept of Chriſtian charity, to lay down our lives for our brethren, that is, thoſe who were combined in a cauſe of Religion, who were united with the ſame hopes, and imparted to each other ready aſſiſtances, and grew dear by common ſufferings, we need enquire no further for the expreſſions of friendſhips: *Greater love than this hath no man, than that he lay down his life for his friends*; and this we are oblig'd to do in ſome Caſes for all Chriſtians; and therefore we may do it for thoſe who are to us in this preſent & imperfect ſtate of things, that which all the good Men and Women in the World ſhall be in Heaven, that is, in the ſtate of perfect friendſhips. This is the biggeſt; but then it includes and can ſuppoſe all the reſt; and if this may be done for all, and in ſome caſes muſt for any one of the multitude, we need not ſcruple whether we may do it for thoſe who

who are better than a multitude. But as for the thing it ſelf, it is not eaſily and lightly to be done; and a Man muſt not die for humour, nor expend ſo great a jewel for a trifle: μόλις ἀνεπνεύσαμεν εἰ-δότες ἐπ' ὀδενὶ λυσιτελεῖ παραπάλαμα γενη-σόμενοι: ſaid *Philo*; we will hardly die when it is for nothing, when no good, no worthy end is ſerved, and become a Sacrifice to redeem a foot-boy. But we may not give our life to redeem another: unleſs 1. The party for whom we die be a worthy and an uſeful perſon; better for the publick, or better for Religion, and more uſeful to others than my ſelf. Thus *Ribiſchius* the German died bravely when he became a Sacrifice for his Maſter, *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*; Covering his Maſters body with his own, that he might eſcape the fury of the Turkiſh Souldiers. *Succurram perituro, ſed ut ipſe non peream, niſi ſi futurus ero magni hominis, aut magnæ rei merces*, ſaid *Seneca*. I will help a dying perſon if I can; but I will not die my ſelf for him, unleſs by my death I ſave a brave man, or become the price of a great thing; that is, I will die for a Prince, for the republick, or to ſave an Army, as

David expos'd himself to combat with the Philistin for the redemption of the host of *Israel*: and in this sense, that is true: *Praestat ut pereat unus, quam Unitas*, better that *one* perish than a *multitude*. 2. A man dies bravely when he gives his temporal life to save the soul of any single person in the Christian world. It is a worthy exchange, and the glorification of that love by which Christ gave his life for every soul. Thus he that reproves an erring Prince wisely and necessarily, he that affirms a fundamental truth, or stands up for the glory of the Divine attributes, though he die for it, becomes a worthy sacrifice. 3. These are duty, but it may be heroick and full of Christian bravery, to give my life to rescue a noble and a brave friend; though I my self be as worthy a man as he; because the preference of him is an act of humility in me; and of friendship towards him; *Humility* and *Charity* making a pious difference, where *art* and *nature* have made all equal.

Some have fancied other measures of treating our friends. One sort of men say that we are to expect that our friends should

ſhould value us as we value our ſelves: which if it were to be admitted, will require that we make no friendſhip with a proud man; and ſo far indeed were well; but then this proportion does exclude ſome humble men who are moſt to be valued, and the rather becauſe they undervalue themſelves.

Others ſay that a friend is to value his friend as much as his friend values him; but neither is this well or ſafe, wiſe or ſufficient; for it makes friendſhip a meer bargain, and is ſomething like the Country weddings in ſome places where I have been; where the bridegroom and the bride muſt meet in the half way, and if they fail a ſtep, they retire and break the match: It is not good to make a reckoning in friendſhip; that's merchandiſe, or it may be gratitude, but not noble friendſhip; in which each part ſtrives to out-do the other in ſignifications of an excellent love: And *amongſt true friends there is no fear of loſing any thing.*

But that which amongſt the old Philoſophers comes neareſt to the right, is that

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we love our friends as we love our ſelves. If they had meant it as our Bleſſed Saviour did, of that general friendſhip by which we are to love all Mankind, it had been perfect and well; or if they had meant it of the inward affection, or of outward juſtice; but becauſe they meant it of the moſt excellent friendſhips, and of the outward ſignifications of it, it cannot be ſufficient: for a friend may and muſt ſometimes do more for his friend than he would do for himſelf. Some men will periſh before they will beg or petition for themſelves to ſome certain perſons; but they account it noble to do it for their friend, and they will want rather than their friend ſhall want; and they will be more earneſt in praiſe or diſpraiſe reſpectively for their friend than for themſelves. And indeed I account *that* one of the greateſt demonſtrations of real friendſhip, that a friend can really endeavour to have his friend advanced in honour, in reputation, in the opinion of wit or learning before himſelf.

Martial. l. 8. ep. 18. *Aurum & opes, & rura frequens donabit amicus:*
Qui velit ingenio cedere rarus erit.

Sed

ed tibi tantus ineſt veteris reſpectus amici,
Carior ut mea ſit quam tua fama tibi.

Lands, gold and trifles many give or lend;
But he that ſtoops in fame is a rare friend;
In friendſhips orb thou art the brighteſt ſtar,
Before thy fame mine thou preferreſt far.

But then be pleaſed to think that therefore I ſo highly value this ſignification of friendſhip, becauſe I ſo highly value humility. Humility and Charity are the two greateſt graces in the World; and theſe are the greateſt ingredients which conſtitute friendſhip and expreſs it.

But there needs no other meaſures of friendſhip, but that it may be as great as you can expreſs it; beyond death it cannot go, to death it may, when the cauſe is reaſonable and juſt, charitable and religious: and yet if there be any thing greater than to ſuffer death (and pain and ſhame to ſome are more inſufferable) a true and noble

noble friendſhip ſhrinks not at the greateſt trials.

And yet there is a limit even to friendſhip. It muſt be as great as our friend fairly needs in all things where we are not tied up by a former duty, to God, to ourſelves, or ſome pre-obliging relative. When *Pollux* heard ſome body whiſper a reproach againſt his Brother *Caſtor*, he killed the ſlanderer with his fiſt: that was a zeal which his friendſhip could not warrant. *Nulla eſt excuſatio ſi amici cauſâ peccaveris*, ſaid *Cicero*. No friendſhip can excuſe a ſin: And this the braver *Romans* inſtanced in the matter of duty to their Country. It is not lawful to fight on our friends part againſt our Prince or Country; and therefore when *Caius Bloſius* of *Cuma* in the ſedition of *Gracchus* appeared againſt his Country, when he was taken he anſwered, That he loved *Tiberius Gracchus* ſo dearly, that he thought fit to follow him whitherſoever he led; and begg'd pardon upon that account. They who were his Judges were ſo noble, that though they knew it no fair excuſe: yet for the honour of friendſhip they

ey did not directly reject his motion: ut put him to death, becauſe he did not ollow, but led on *Gracchus*, and brought is friend into the ſnare: For ſo they pre- erved the honours of friendſhip on either and, by neither ſuffering it to be ſullied y a foul excuſe, nor yet rejected in any air pretence. A man may not be perju- ed for his friend. I remember to have ead in the Hiſtory of the Low-countries, hat *Grimſton* and *Redhead*, when *Bergen- apzoom* was beſieged by the Duke of *Par- ma*, acted for the intereſt of the Queen of *Englands* Forces a notable deſign; but be- ing ſuſpected and put for their acquittance to take the Sacrament of the Altar, they diſſembled their perſons, and their in- tereſt, their deſign and their religion, and did for the Queens ſervice (as one wittily wrote to her) give not only their bodies but their ſouls, and ſo deſerved a reward greater than ſhe could pay them: I cannot ſay this is a thing greater than a friend- ſhip can require, for it is not great at all, but a great villany, which hath no name, and no order in worthy entercourſes; and no obligation to a friend can reach as high as our duty to God: And he that does

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a base thing in zeal for his friend, burns the golden thred that ties their hearts together; it is a *conspiracy*, but no longer *friendship*. And when *Cato* lent his Wife to *Hortensius*, and *Socrates* lent his to a merry Greek, they could not amongst wise persons obtain so much as the fame of being worthy friends, neither could those great Names legitimate an unworthy action under the most plausible title.

It is certain that amongst friends their estates are common; that is, by whatsoever I can rescue my friend from calamity, I am to serve him, or not to call him friend; there is a great latitude in this, and it is to be restrained by no prudence, but when there is on the other side a great necessity neither vicious nor avoidable: A man may chuse whether he will or no; and he does not sin in not doing it, unless he have bound himself to it: *But certainly friendship is the greatest band in the world*, and if he have professed a great friendship, he hath a very great obligation to do that and more; and he can no ways be disobliged but by the care of his Natural relations.

I

I ſaid, [*Friendſhip is the greateſt bond in the world,*] and I had reaſon for it, for it is all the bands that this world hath; and there is no ſociety, and there is no relation that is worthy, but it is made ſo by the communications of friendſhip, and by partaking ſome of its excellencies. For friendſhip is a tranſcendent, and ſignifies as much as *Unity* can mean, and every conſent, and every pleaſure, and every benefit, and every ſociety is the Mother or the Daughter of friendſhip. Some friendſhips are made by *nature*, ſome by *contract*, ſome by *intereſt*, and ſome by *ſouls*. And in proportion to theſe ways of Uniting, ſo the friendſhips are greater or leſs, vertuous or natural, profitable or holy, or all this together. Nature makes excellent friendſhips, of which we obſerve ſomething in ſocial parts; growing better in each others neighbourhood than where they ſtand ſingly: and in animals it is more notorious, whoſe friendſhips extend ſo far as to herd and dwell together, to play, and feed, to defend and fight for one another, and to cry in abſence, and to rejoyce in one anothers preſence. But theſe friend-

friendſhips have other names leſs noble, they are *ſympathy*, or they are *inſtinct*. But if to this natural friendſhip there be reaſon ſuperadded, ſomething will come in upon the ſtock of reaſon which will ennoble it; but becauſe no Rivers can riſe higher than Fountains, reaſon ſhall draw out all the diſpoſitions which are in Nature and eſtabliſh them into friendſhips, but they cannot ſurmount the communications of Nature; Nature can make no friendſhips greater than her own excellencies. Nature is the way of contracting neceſſary friendſhips: that is, by nature ſuch friendſhips are contracted without which we cannot live, and be educated, or be well, or be at all. In this ſcene, that of Parents and Children is the greateſt, which indeed is begun in nature, but is actuated by ſociety and mutual endearments. For Parents love their Children becauſe they love themſelves, Children being but like emiſſions of water, ſymbolical, or indeed the ſame with the fountain; and they in their poſterity ſee the images and inſtruments of a civil immortality; but if Parents and Children do not live together, we ſee their friendſhips and

their

their loves are much abated and ſupported only by fame and duty, by cuſtoms and religion, which to nature are but artificial pillars, and make this friendſhip to be complicated, and to paſs from its own kind to another. That of Children to their Parents is not properly friendſhip, but gratitude and intereſt, and religion, and whatever can ſupervene of the nature of friendſhip comes in upon another account; upon ſociety and worthineſs and choice.

This relation on either hand makes great Dearneſſes: But it hath ſpecial and proper ſignifications of it, and there is a ſpecial duty incumbent on each other reſpectively. This friendſhip and ſocial relation is not equal, and there is too much authority on one ſide, and too much fear on the other to make equal friendſhips; and therefore although this is one of the kinds of friendſhip, that is of a ſocial and relative love and converſation, yet in the more proper uſe of the word; [Friendſhip] does do ſome things which Father and Son do not; I inſtance in the free and open communicating counſels, and the even-

evenneſs and pleaſantneſs of converſation; and conſequently the ſignifications of the paternal and filial love as they are diverſe in themſelves and unequal, and therefore another kind of friendſhip than we mean in our enquiry; ſo they are ſuch a duty which no other friendſhip can annul: becauſe their mutual duty is bound upon them by religion long before any other friendſhips can be contracted; and therefore having firſt poſſeſſion muſt abide for ever. The duty and love to Parents muſt not yield to religion, much leſs to any new friendſhips: and our Parents are to be preferred before the Corban: and are at no hand to be laid aſide but when they engage againſt God: That is, in the rights which this relation and kind of friendſhip challenges as its propriety, it is ſupreme and cannot give place to any other friendſhips; till the Father gives his right away, and God or the Laws conſent to it; as in the caſe of marriage, emancipation, and adoption to another family: in which caſes though love and gratitude are ſtill obliging, yet the ſocieties and duties of relation are very much altered, which in the proper and beſt friendſhips can never be

at

t all. But then this alſo is true: that the ſocial relations of Parents and Children not having in them all the capacities of a proper friendſhip, cannot challenge all the ſignifications of it: that is, it is no prejudice to the duty I owe there, to pay all the dearneſſes which are due here, and to friends there are ſome things due which the other cannot challenge: I mean, *my ſecret*, and *my equal converſation*, and the pleaſures and intereſts of theſe, and the conſequents of all.

Next to this is the ſociety and dearneſs of Brothers and Siſters: which uſually is very great amongſt worthy perſons; but if it be conſidered what it is in it ſelf, it is but very little; there is very often a likeneſs of natural temper, and there is a ſocial life under the ſame roof, and they are commanded to love one another, and they are equals in many inſtances, and are endeared by converſation when it is merry and pleaſant, innocent and ſimple, without art and without deſign. But Brothers paſs not into noble friendſhips upon the ſtock of that relation: they have fair diſpoſitions and advantages, and are more eaſie

easie and ready to ferment into the greatest dearnesses, if all things else be answerable. Nature disposes them well toward it, but in this enquiry if we ask what duty is passed upon a Brother to a Brother even for being so? I answer, that religion and our parents and God and the laws appoint what measures they please, but nature passes but very little, and friendship less and this we see apparently in those Brothers who live asunder, and contract new relations, and dwell in other societies: There is no love, no friendship without the entercourse of conversation? Friendships indeed may last longer than our abode together, but they were first contracted by it, and established by pleasure and benefit, and unless it be the best kind of friendship (which that of Brothers in that meer capacity is not) it dies when it wants the proper nutriment and support: and to this purpose is that which was spoken by *Solomon*: [*better is a neighbour that is near, than a Brother that is far off*:] that is, although ordinarily, Brothers are first possessed of the entries and fancies of friendship, because they are of the first societies and

Prov. 27.10.

conver-

converſations, yet when that ceaſes and the Brother goes away, ſo that he does no advantage, no benefit of entercourſe; the neighbour that dwells by me, with whom if I converſe at all, either he is my enemy and does, and receives evil; or if we converſe in worthineſſes and benefit and pleaſant communication, he is better in the laws and meaſures of friendſhip than my diſtant Brother. And it is obſervable that [*Brother*] is indeed a word of friendſhip and charity and of mutual endearment, and ſo is a title of the braveſt ſociety; yet in all the Scripture there are no precepts given of any duty and comport which Brothers, that is, the deſcendents of the ſame parents are to have one towards another in that capacity, and it is not becauſe their nearneſs is ſuch that they need none: For Parents and children are nearer, and yet need tables of duty to be deſcribed; and for Brothers, certainly they need it infinitely if there be any peculiar duty; *Cain* and *Abel* are the great probation of that, and you know who ſaid,

Fratrum quoque gratia rara eſt:

It

It is not often you ſhall ſee
Two Brothers live in amitie.

But the Scripture which often deſcribes the duty of Parents and Children, never deſcribes the duty of Brothers; except where by *Brethren* are meant all that part of mankind who are tied to us by any vicinity and indearment of religion or country, of profeſſion and family, of contract or ſociety, of love and the nobleſt friendſhips; the meaning is, that though fraternity alone be the endearment of ſome degrees of friendſhip, without choice and without excellency; yet the relation it ſelf is not friendſhip, and does not naturally infer it, and that which is procured by it, is but limited and little; and though it may paſs into it, as other converſations may, yet the friendſhip is accidental to it; and enters upon other accounts, as it does between ſtrangers; with this only difference that Brotherhood does oftentimes aſſiſt the valuation of thoſe excellencies for which we entertain our friendſhips. Fraternity is the opportunity and preliminary diſpoſition to friendſhip, and no more.

For

For if my Brother be a fool or a vitious perſon, the love to which nature and our firſt converſation diſpoſes me, does not end in friendſhip, but in pity and fair proviſions, and aſſiſtances; which is a demonſtration that Brotherhood is but the inclination and addreſs to friendſhip: and though I will love a worthy Brother more than a worthy ſtranger; if the worthineſs be equal, becauſe the relation is ſomething, and being put into the ſcales againſt an equal worthineſs muſt needs turn the ballance, as every grain will do in an even weight; yet when the relation is all the worthineſs that is pretended, it cannot ſtand in competition with a friend: for though a *friend-Brother* is better than a *friend-ſtranger*, where the friend is equal, but the Brother is not: yet a Brother is not better than a friend; but as *Solomons* expreſſion is [there is a friend that is better than a Brother,] and to be born of the ſame parents is ſo accidental and extrinſick to a mans pleaſure or worthineſs, or ſpiritual advantages, that though it be very pleaſing and uſeful that a Brother ſhould be a friend, yet it is no great addition to a friend that he alſo is a Brother: there is

ſomething in it, but not much. But in ſhort the caſe is thus. The firſt beginnings of friendſhip ſerve the neceſſities; but choice and worthineſs are the excellencies of its endearment and its bravery; and between a Brother that is no friend, and a friend that is no Brother, there is the ſame difference as between the diſpoſition, and the act or habit: a Brother if he be worthy is the readieſt and the neareſt to be a friend, but till he be ſo, he is but the twi-light of the day, and but the bloſſome to the faireſt fruit of Paradiſe. A Brother does not always make a friend, but a friend ever makes a Brother and more: And although nature ſometimes finds the tree, yet friendſhip engraves the Image; the firſt relation places him in the Garden, but friendſhip ſets it in the Temple, and then only it is venerable and ſacred: and ſo is Brotherhood when it hath the ſoul of friendſhip.

So that if it be asked which are moſt to be valued, Brothers or friends; the anſwer is very eaſie; Brotherhood is or may be one of the kinds of friendſhip, and from thence only hath its value, and there-

therefore if it be compared with a greater friendſhip muſt give place: But then it is not to be asked which is to be preferred, a *Brother* or a *Friend*, but which is the better friend; *Memnon* or my *Brother*? For if my Brother ſays I ought to love him beſt, then he ought to love me beſt; * if he does, then there is a great friendſhip, and he poſſibly is to be preferred; if he can be that friend which he pretends to be, that is, if he be equally worthy: but if he ſays, I muſt love him only becauſe he is my Brother, whether he loves me or no, he is ridiculous; and it will be a ſtrange relation which hath no correſpondent: but ſuppoſe it, and add this alſo, that I am equally his Brother as he is mine, and then he alſo muſt love me whether I love him or no; and if he does not, he ſays, I muſt love him though he be my enemy; and ſo I muſt; but I muſt not love my Enemy though he be my Brother more than I love my Friend; and at laſt if he does love me for being his Brother, I confeſs that this love deſerves love again; but

* *Ut præſtem Pyladen, aliquis mihi præſtet Oreſten.*
Hoc non fit verbis, Marce, ut ameris, ama. Mar. l. 6. ep. 11.

then I consider, that he loves me upon an incompetent reason: for he that loves me only because I am his Brother, loves me for that which is no worthiness, and I must love him as much as that comes to, and for as little reason; unless this be added, that he loves me first: but whether choice and union of souls, and worthiness of manners, and greatness of understanding, and usefulness of conversation, and the benefits of Counsel, and all those endearments which make our lives pleasant and our persons Dear, are not better and greater reasons of love and Dearness than to be born of the same flesh, I think amongst wise persons needs no great inquiry. For fraternity is but a Cognation of bodies, but friendship is an Union of souls which are confederated by more noble ligatures. My Brother, if he be no more, shall have my hand to help him, but unless he be my friend too, he cannot challenge my heart: and if his being my friend be the greater nearness, then *friend* is more than *Brother*, and I suppose no man doubts but that *David* lov'd *Jonathan* far more than he lov'd his Brother *Eliab*.

One

One inquiry more there may be in this affair, and that is, whether a friend may be more than a Husband or Wife; To which I anſwer, that it can never be reaſonable or juſt, prudent or lawful: but the reaſon is, becauſe Marriage is the Queen of friendſhips, in which there is a communication of all that can be communicated by friendſhip: and it being made ſacred by vows and love, by bodies and ſouls, by intereſt and cuſtome, by religion and by laws, by common Counſels, and common fortunes; it is the principal in the kind of friendſhip, and the meaſure of all the reſt: And there is no abatement to this conſideration, but that there may be ſome allay in this as in other leſſer friendſhips by the incapacity of the perſons: if I have not choſen my friend wiſely or fortunately, he cannot be the correlative in the beſt Union; but then the friend lives as the ſoul does after death, it is in the ſtate of ſeparation, in which the ſoul ſtrangely loves the body and longs to be reunited, but the body is an uſeleſs trunk and can do no miniſteries to the ſoul; which therefore prays to have the body re-

reformed and reſtored and made a brave and a fit companion: ſo muſt theſe beſt friends, when one is uſeleſs or unapt to the braveries of the princely friendſhip, they muſt love ever, and pray ever, and long till the other be perfected and made fit; in this caſe there wants only the body, but the ſoul is ſtill a relative and muſt be ſo for ever.

A Husband and a Wife are the beſt friends, but they cannot always ſignifie all that to each other which their friendſhips would; as the Sun ſhines not upon a Valley which ſends up a thick vapour to cover his face; and though his beams are eternal, yet the emiſſion is intercepted by the intervening cloud. But however all friendſhips are but parts of this; a man muſt leave Father and Mother and cleave to his Wife, that is [*the deareſt thing in Nature is not comparable to the deareſt thing of friendſhip:*] and I think this is argument ſufficient to prove friendſhip to be the greateſt band in the world; Add to this, that other friendſhips are parts of this, they are marriages too, leſs indeed than the other, becauſe they cannot, muſt not

not be all that endearment which the other is; yet that being the principal, is the meaſure of the reſt, and are all to be honoured by like dignities, and meaſured by the ſame rules, and conducted by their portion of the ſame Laws: But as friendſhips are *Marriages* of the ſoul, and of fortunes and intereſts, and counſels; ſo they are *brotherhoods* too; and I often think of the excellencies of friendſhips in the words of *David*, who certainly was the beſt friend in the World [*Ecce quam bonum & quam jucundum fratres habitare in unum*:] It is good and it is pleaſant that Brethren ſhould live like friends, that is, they who are any ways relative, and who are any ways ſocial and confederate ſhould alſo dwell in Unity and loving ſociety, for that is the meaning of the word [Brother] in Scripture [It was my Brother *Jonathan*] ſaid *David*; ſuch Brothers contracting ſuch friendſhips are the beauties of ſociety, and the pleaſure of life, and the feſtivity of minds: and whatſoever can be ſpoken of love, which is God's eldeſt daughter, can be ſaid of vertuous friendſhips; and though *Carneades* made an eloquent Oration at *Rome* againſt

juſtice, and yet never ſaw a Panygerick of malice, or ever read that any man was witty againſt friendſhip. Indeed it is probable that ſome men, finding themſelves by the peculiarities of friendſhip excluded from the participation of thoſe beauties of ſociety which enamel and adorn the wiſe and the vertuous, might ſuppoſe themſelves to have reaſon to ſpeak the evil words of envy and detraction; I wonder not that all thoſe unhappy ſouls which ſhall find heaven gates ſhut againſt them, will think they have reaſon to murmur and blaſpheme: the ſimilitude is apt enough, for that is the region of friendſhip, and love is the light of that glorious Country, but ſo bright that it needs no Sun: Here we have fine and bright rays of that Celeſtial flame, and though to all Mankind the light of it is in ſome meaſure to be extended like the treaſures of light dwelling in the South, yet a little do illuſtrate and beautifie the North, yet ſome live under the line, and the beams of friendſhip in that poſition are imminent and perpendicular.

I know but one thing more in which the

the Communications of friendſhip can be reſtrained; and that is, in Friends and Enemies: *Amicus amici, amicus meus non eſt:* My Friends friend is not always my friend; nor his enemy mine; for if my friend quarrel with a third perſon with whom he hath had no friendſhips, upon the account of intereſt; if that third perſon be my friend, the nobleneſs of our friendſhips deſpiſes ſuch a quarrel; and what may be reaſonable in him, would be ignoble in me; ſometimes it may be otherwiſe, and friends may marry one anothers loves and hatreds, but it is by chance if it can be juſt, and therefore *becauſe it is not always right it cannot be ever neceſſary.*

In all things elſe, let friendſhips be as high and expreſſive till they become an Union, or that friends like the Molionidæ be ſo the ſame that the flames of their dead bodies make but one Pyramis; no charity can be reproved; and ſuch friendſhips which are more than ſhadows, are nothing elſe but the rayes of that glorious grace drawn into one centre, and made more active by the Union; and the pro-

per ſignifications are well repreſented in the old Hieroglyphick, by which the ancients depicted friendſhip: "In the beauties and ſtrength of a young man, bareheaded, rudely clothed, to ſignifie its activity, and laſtingneſs, readineſs of action, and aptneſſes to do ſervice; Upon the Fringes of his garment was written *Mors & vita*, as ſignifying that *in life and death* the friendſhip was the ſame; on the forehead was written *Summer and Winter*, that is, proſperous and adverſe accidents and ſtates of life; the left arm and ſhoulder was bare and naked down to the heart to which the finger pointed, and there was written *longè & propè*: by all which we know that friendſhip does good far and near: in Summer and Winter, in life and death, and knows no difference of ſtate or accident but by the variety of her ſervices: and therefore ask no more to what we can be obliged by friendſhip; for it is every thing that can be *honeſt* and *prudent*, *uſeful* and *neceſſary*.

For this is all the allay of this Univerſality, we may do any thing or ſuffer any thing,

thing, that is *wiſe* or *neceſſary*, or *greatly beneficial* to my friend, and that *in any thing*, in which I am *perfect maſter* of my *perſon* and *fortunes*. But I would not in bravery viſit my friend when he is ſick of the plague, unleſs I can do him good equal at leaſt to my danger, but I will procure him Phyſicians and prayers, all the aſſiſtances that he can receive, and that he can deſire, if they be in my power: and when he is dead, I will not run into his grave and be ſtifled with his earth; but I will mourn for him, and perform his will, and take care of his relatives, and do for him as if he were alive, and I think that is the meaning of that hard ſaying of a Greek Poet.

Ἄνθρωπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἀπὸ προθὲν ὦμεν ἑταῖροι·
Πλὴν τόδε παντὸς χρήματ' ἐσὶ κόρος.

To me though diſtant let thy friendſhip fly,
Though men be mortal, friendſhips muſt not die,
Of all things elſe, there's great ſatiety.

Off

Of ſuch immortal abſtracted pure friendſhips indeed there is no great plenty, and to ſee brothers hate each other, is not ſo rare as to ſee them love at this rate. *The dead and the abſent have but few friends*, ſay the Spaniards; but they who are the ſame to their friend ἀπόπροθεν, when he is in another Countrey, or in another World, theſe are they who are fit to preſerve the ſacred fire for eternal ſacrifices, and to perpetuate the memory of thoſe exemplar friendſhips of the beſt men which have filled the World with hiſtory and wonder: for in no other ſenſe but this, can it be true; that friendſhips are pure loves, regarding to do good more than to receive it: He that is a friend after death, hopes not for a recompence from his friend, and makes no bargain either for fame or love; but is rewarded with the conſcience and ſatisfaction of doing bravely: but then this is demonſtration that they chuſe Friends beſt who take perſons ſo worthy that can and will do ſo: This is the profit and uſefulneſs of friendſhip; and he that contracts ſuch a noble Union, muſt take care that his friend be ſuch who can

can and will; but hopes that himſelf ſhall be firſt uſed, and put to act it: I will not have ſuch a friendſhip that is good for nothing, but I hope that I ſhall be on the giving and aſſiſting part; and yet if both the friends be ſo noble, and hope and ſtrive to do the benefit, I cannot well ſay which ought to yield; and whether that friendſhip were braver that could be content to be unproſperous ſo his friend might have the glory of aſſiſting him; or that which deſires to give aſſiſtances in the greateſt meaſures of friendſhip: but he that chuſes a worthy friend that himſelf in the days of ſorrow and need might receive the advantage, hath no excuſe, no pardon, unleſs himſelf be as certain to do aſſiſtances when evil fortune ſhall require them. The ſum of this anſwer to this enquiry I give you in a pair of Greek verſes.

ἴσον θεῷ σε τὸς φίλυς τιμᾶν θέλε·
ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς δὲ τὸς φίλυς εὐεργέτει.

Friends are to friends as leſſer Gods, while they
Honour and ſervice to each other pay.

But

But when a dark cloud comes, grudge not to lend
Thy head, thy heart, thy fortune to thy friend.

3. The laſt inquiry is, *how friendſhips are to be conducted?* That is, what are *the duties in preſenco, and in abſence; whether the friend may not deſire to enjoy his friend as well as his friendſhip?* The anſwer to which in a great meaſure depends upon what I have ſaid already: and if friendſhip be a charity in ſociety, and is not for contemplation and noiſe, but for material comforts and noble treatments and uſages, this is no peradventure, but that if I buy land, I may eat the fruits, and if I take a houſe I may dwell in it; and if I love a worthy perſon, I may pleaſe my ſelf in his ſociety: and in this there is no exception, unleſs the friendſhip be between perſons of a different ſex: for then not only the intereſt of their religion, and the care of their honour, but the worthineſs of their friendſhip requires that their entercourſe be prudent and free from ſuſpicion and reproach: and if a friend is obliged to bear a calamity, ſo he ſecure the honour of

of his friend, it will concern him to conduct his entercourſe in the lines of a vertuous prudence, ſo that he ſhall rather loſe much of *his own comfort*, than ſhe any thing of *her honour*; and in this caſe the noiſes of people are ſo to be regarded, that next to innocence they are the principal. But when by caution and prudence and ſevere conduct, a friend hath done all that he or ſhe can to ſecure fame and honourable reports; after this, their noiſes are to be deſpiſed; they muſt not fright us from our friendſhips, nor from her faireſt entercourſes; *I may lawfully pluck the cluſters from my own Vine, though he that walks by, calls me thief.*

But by the way (Madam) you may ſee how much I differ from the moroſity of thoſe Cynicks who would not admit your ſex into the communities of a noble friendſhip. I believe ſome Wives have been the beſt friends in the World; and few ſtories can out-do the nobleneſs and piety of that Lady that ſuck'd the poyſonous, purulent matter from the wound of our brave Prince in the holy Land, when an Aſſaſine had pierc'd him with a venom'd arrow;

arrow; and if it be told that Women cannot retain counſel, and therefore can be no brave friends; I can beſt confute them by the ſtory of *Porcia*, who being fearful of the weakneſs of her ſex, ſtabb'd her ſelf into the thigh to try how ſhe could bear pain; and finding her ſelf conſtant enough to that ſufferance, gently chid her *Brutus* for not daring to truſt her, ſince now ſhe perceived that no torment could wreſt that ſecret from her, which ſhe hoped might be intruſted to her. If there were not more things to be ſaid for your ſatisfaction, I could have made it diſputable whether have been more illuſtrious in their friendſhips Men or Women? I cannot ſay that Women are capable of all thoſe excellencies by which Men can oblige the World; and therefore a female friend in ſome caſes is not ſo good a counſellor as a wiſe man, and cannot ſo well defend my honour; nor diſpoſe of reliefs and aſſiſtances if ſhe be under the power of another: but a woman can love as paſſionately, and converſe as pleaſantly, and retain a ſecret as faithfully, and be uſeful in her proper miniſteries; and ſhe can die for her friend as well as the braveſt *Roman* Knight;

Knight; and we find that ſome perſons have engag'd themſelves as far as death upon a leſs intereſt than all this amounts to: ſuch were the ἐυχωλιμαῖοι, as the Greeks call them, the Devoti of a Prince or General, the Aſſaſines amongſt the *Saracens*, the Σολιδάριοι amongſt the old *Galatians*: they did as much as a friend could do; and if the greateſt ſervices of a friend can be paid for by an ignoble price, we cannot grudge to vertuous and brave women that they be partners in a noble friendſhip, ſince their converſation and returns can add ſo many moments to the felicity of our lives: and therefore, though a Knife cannot enter as far as a Sword, yet a Knife may be more uſeful to ſome purpoſes; and in every thing, except it be againſt an enemy. A man is the beſt friend in trouble, but a woman may be equal to him in the days of joy: a woman can as well increaſe our comforts, but cannot ſo well leſſen our ſorrows: and therefore we do not carry women with us when we go to fight; but in peaceful Cities and times, vertuous women are the beauties of ſociety and the prettineſſes of friendſhip. And when we conſider that few perſons in the world

world have all thoſe excellencies by which friendſhip can be uſeful and illuſtrious, we may as well allow women as men to be friends; ſince *they* can have all that which can be neceſſary and eſſential to friendſhips, and *theſe* cannot have all by which friendſhips can be accidentally improved; in all ſome abatements will be made; and we ſhall do too much honour to women if we reject them from friendſhips becauſe they are not perfect: for if to friendſhips we admit imperfect men, becauſe no man is perfect: he that rejects women does find fault with them becauſe they are not more perfect than men, which either does ſecretly affirm that they ought and can be perfect, or elſe it openly accuſes men of injuſtice and partiality.

I hope you will pardon me that I am a little gone from my undertaking, I went aſide to wait upon the women and to do countenance to their tender vertues: I am now return'd, and, if I were to do the office of a guide to uninſtructed friends, would add the particulars following: Madam, you need not read them now, but when any friends come to be taught by your

your precept and example how to converſe in the nobleſt conjurations, you may put theſe into better words and tell them,

1. That the firſt law of friendſhip is, they muſt neither ask of their friend what is Undecent; nor grant it if themſelves be askt. For it is no good office to make my friend more vicious or more a fool; I will reſtrain his folly, but not nurſe it; I will not make my groom the officer of my luſt and vanity. There are Villains who ſell their ſouls for bread, that offer ſin and vanity at a price: I ſhould be unwilling my friend ſhould know I am vicious; but if he could be brought to miniſter to it, he is not worthy to be my friend: and if I could offer it to him, I do not deſerve to claſp hands with a vertuous perſon.

2. Let no Man chuſe him for his friend whom it ſhall be poſſible for him ever after to hate, for though the *ſociety* may juſtly be interrupted, yet *love* is an immortal thing, and I will never deſpiſe him whom I could once think worthy of my love. A friend that proves not good is rather to be ſuffered, than any enmities be enter-

entertained: and there are ſome outer offices of friendſhip and little drudgeries in which the leſs worthy are to be imployed, and it is better that he be below ſtairs than quite thrown out of doors.

3. There are two things which a friend can never pardon, a treacherous blow and the revealing of a ſecret, becauſe theſe are againſt the Nature of friendſhip; they are the adulteries of it, and diſſolve the Union; and in the matters of friendſhip which is the marriage of ſouls; theſe are the proper cauſes of divorce: and therefore I ſhall add this only, that *ſecrecy* is the *chaſtity of friendſhip*, and the publication of it is a proſtitution and direct debauchery, but a ſecret, treacherous wound is a perfect and unpardonable Apoſtaſie. I remember a pretty apologue that *Bromiard* tells, A Fowler in a ſharp froſty morning having taken many little birds for which he had long watched, began to take up his Nets; and nipping the birds on the head laid them down. A young Thruſh eſpying the tears trickling down his cheeks by reaſon of the extreme cold, ſaid to her Mother, that certainly the man was very merciful

ciful and compaſſionate that wept ſo bitterly over the calamity of the poor Birds. But her mother told her more wiſely, that ſhe might better judge of the man's diſpoſition by his hand than by his eye; and if the hands do ſtrike treacherouſly, he can never be admitted to friendſhip, who ſpeaks fairly and weeps pitifully. Friendſhip is the greateſt honeſty and ingenuity in the World.

4. Never accuſe thy friend, nor believe him that does; if thou doſt, thou haſt broken the skin; but he that is angry with every little fault breaks the bones of friendſhip; and when we conſider that in ſociety and the accidents of every day, in which no man is conſtantly pleaſed or diſpleaſed with the ſame things; we ſhall find reaſon to impute the change unto our ſelves; and the emanations of the Sun are ſtill glorious, when our eyes are ſore: and we have no reaſon to be angry with an eternal light, becauſe we have a changeable and a mortal faculty. But however, do not think thou didſt contract alliance with an Angel, when thou didſt take thy friend into thy boſom; he may be weak as

as well as thou art, and thou mayeſt need pardon as well as he, and

Μήπο᾽ ἐπὶ σμικρᾷ προφάσει φίλον ἀνδρ᾽ ἀπολέσσης
Πειθόμενος χαλεπῇ Κύρνε διαβολίῃ.
Εἴτις ἁμαρτωλῆσι φίλον ἐπὶ παντὶ κολᾶτο
Οὗπο᾽ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἄρθμιοι ἔτε φίλοι.
Theog.

that man loves flattery more than friendſhip, who would not only have his friend, but all the contingencies of his friend to humour him.

5. Give thy friend counſel wiſely and charitably, but leave him to his liberty whether he will follow thee or no: and be not angry if thy counſel be rejected: for, *advice is no Empire*, and he is not my friend that will be my Judge whether I will or no. *Neoptolemus* had never been honoured with the victory and ſpoils of *Troy* if he had attended to the tears and counſel of *Lycomedes*, who being afraid to venture the young man, fain would have had him ſleep at home ſafe in his little Iſland.

Iſland. He that gives advice to his friend and *exacts obedience* to it, does not the kindneſs and ingenuity of a friend, but the office and pertneſs of a School-maſter.

6. Never be a Judge between thy friends in any matter where both ſet their hearts upon the victory: If ſtrangers or enemies be litigants, what ever ſide thou favoureſt, thou getteſt a friend; but when friends are the parties, thou loſeſt one.

7. Never comport thy ſelf ſo, as that thy friend can be afraid of thee: for then the ſtate of the relation alters when a new and troubleſome paſſion ſupervenes. ODERUNT *quos* METUUNT. *Perfect love caſteth out fear*, and no man is friend to a Tyrant; but that friendſhip is Tyranny where the love is changed into fear, equality into empire, ſociety into obedience; for then all my kindneſs to him alſo will be no better than flattery.

8. When you admoniſh your friend, let it be without bitterneſs; when you chide him, let it be without reproach; when you praiſe him, let it be with worthy

thy purposes and for just causes, and in friendly measures; too much of that is flattery, too little is envy; if you do it justly, you teach him true measures: but when others praise him, rejoyce, though they praise not thee, and remember that if thou esteemest his praise to be thy disparagement, thou art envious, but neither just nor kind.

9. When all things else are equal prefer an old friend before a new. If thou meanest to spend thy friend, and make a gain of him till he be weary, thou wilt esteem him as a beast of burden, the worse for his age; But if thou esteemest him by noble measures, he will be better to thee by thy being used to him, by trial and experience, by reciprocation of indearments, and an habitual worthiness. An old friend is like old wine, which when a man hath drunk, he doth not desire new, because he saith the old is better. But every old friend was new once; and if he be worthy, keep the new one till he become old.

10. After all this, treat thy friend nobly, love to be with him, do to him all the

the worthineſſes of love and fair endearment, according to thy capacity and his; Bear with his infirmities till they approach towards being criminal; but never diſſemble with him, never deſpiſe him, never leave him. * Give him gifts and upbraid him not, ‖ and refuſe not his kindneſſes, and be ſure never to deſpiſe the ſmalneſs or the impropriety of them. *Confirmatur amor beneficio accepto*: A gift (ſaith *Solomon*) faſteneth friendſhips; for as an eye that dwells long upon a ſtar muſt be refreſhed with leſſer beauties and ſtrengthened with greens and looking-glaſſes, leſt the ſight become amazed with too great a ſplendor; ſo muſt the love of friends ſometimes be refreſhed with mate-

* *Extra fortunam eſt quicquid dònatur amicis;*
Quas dederis ſolas ſemper habebis opes.
Mart. l. 5 ep. 43.

Et tamen hoc vitium, ſed non leve, ſit licet unum,
Quod colit ingratas pauper amicitias.
Quis largitur opes veteri fidoque ſodali?
ep. 19.

‖ *Non bellè quædam faciunt duo: ſufficit unus*
Huic operi: ſi vis ut loquar ipſe tace.
Crede mihi quamvis ingentia Poſthume dones,
Authoris pereunt garrulitate ſui.
ep. 53.

rial and low Careſſes; leſt by ſtriving to be *too divine* it become *leſs humane*: It muſt be allowed its ſhare of *both*: It is *humane* in giving pardon and fair conſtruction, and openneſs and ingenuity, and keeping ſecrets; it hath *ſomething* that is *divine*, becauſe it is *beneficent*; but *much* becauſe it is *eternal*.

THE END.

FIVE LETTERS More, To PERSONS Changed, and Tempted to a Change *IN THEIR RELIGION.*

By the ſame Author.

The I. Letter.

A Copy of the first Letter written to a Gentlewoman newly seduced to the Church of Rome.

M. B.

I Was desirous of an opportunity in *London* to have discoursed with you concerning something of neareſt concernment to you, but the multitude of my little affairs hindred me, and have brought upon you this trouble to read a long Letter, which yet I hope you will be more willing to do, becauſe it comes from one who hath a great reſpect to your perſon, and a very great charity to your ſoul: I muſt confeſs I was on your behalf trou-

bled when I heard you were fallen from the Communion of the Church of *England*, and entred into a voluntary, unneceſſary Schiſm, and departure from the Laws of the King, and the Communion of thoſe with whom you have always lived in charity, going againſt thoſe Laws in the defence and profeſſion of which your Husband died, going from the Religion in which you were Baptized, in which for ſo many years, you lived piouſly and hoped for Heaven, and all this without any ſufficient reaſon, without neceſſity or juſt ſcandal miniſtred to you; and to aggravate all this, you did it in a time when the Church of *England* was perſecuted, when ſhe was marked with the Characteriſms of her Lord, the marks of the Croſs of *Jeſus*, that is, when ſhe ſuffered for a holy cauſe and a holy conſcience, when the Church of *England* was more glorious than at any time before; Even when ſhe could ſhew more Martyrs and Confeſſors than any Church this day in Chriſtendom, even then when a King died in the profeſſion of her Religion, and thouſands of Prieſts, learned and pious Men ſuffered the ſpoiling of their goods rather than they would

forſake

forſake one Article of ſo excellent a Religion; So that ſeriouſly it is not eaſily to be imagined that any thing ſhould move you, unleſs it be that which troubled the perverſe Jews, and the Heathen Greek, *Scandalum crucis*, the ſcandal of the Croſs; You ſtumbled at that Rock of offence, You left us becauſe we were afflicted, leſſened in outward circumſtances and wrapped in a cloud; but give me leave only to remind you of that ſad ſaying of the Scripture, that you may avoid the conſequent of it; *They that fall on this ſtone ſhall be broken in pieces, but they on whom it ſhall fall ſhall be grinded to powder.* And if we ſhould conſider things but prudently, it is a great argument that the ſons of our Church are very conſcientious and juſt in their perſwaſions, when it is evident, that we have no temporal end to ſerve, nothing but the great end of our ſouls, all our hopes of preferment are gone, all ſecular regards, only we ſtill have truth on our ſides, and we are not willing with the loſs of truth to change from a perſecuted to a proſperous Church, from a Reformed to a Church that will not be reformed; leſt we give ſcandal to good

people that suffer for a holy conscience, and weaken the hands of the afflicted; of which if you had been more careful, you would have remained much more innocent.

But I pray, give me leave to consider for you, because you in your change considered so little for your self, what fault, what false doctrine, what wicked and dangerous proposition, what defect, what amiss did you find in the Doctrine and Liturgy and Discipline of the Church of *England?*

For its doctrine, It is certain it professes the belief of all that is written in the Old and New Testament, all that which is in the three Creeds, the Apostolical, the Nicene, and that of *Athanasius*, and whatsoever was decreed in the four General Councils, or in any other truly such, and whatsoever was condemned in these, our Church hath legally declared it to be Heresie. And upon these accounts above four whole ages of the Church went to Haven; they baptized all their Catechumens into this faith, their hopes of Heaven

ven was upon this and a good life, their Saints and Martyrs lived and died in this alone, they denied Communion to none that profeſſed this faith. This is the Catholick faith, ſo ſaith the Creed of *Athanaſius*; and unleſs a company of Men have power to alter the faith of God, whoſoever live and die in this faith, are intirely *Catholick* and *Chriſtian*. So that the Church of *England* hath the ſame faith without diſpute that the Church had for 400. or 500. Years, and therefore there could be nothing wanting here to ſaving faith, if we live according to our belief.

2. *For the Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, I ſhall not need to ſay much, becauſe the caſe will be very evident: Firſt, Becauſe the diſputers of the Church of *Rome*, have not been very forward to object any thing againſt it, they cannot charge it with any evil: 2. Becauſe for all the time of King *Edw.* 6. and till the eleventh year of Queen *Elizabeth*, your people came to our Churches and prayed with us, till the Bull of *Pius Quintus* came out upon temporal regards, and made a Schiſm by forbidding the Queens Subjects

to pray as by Law was here appointed, though the prayers were good and holy, as themselves did believe. That Bull enjoyned Recusancy, and made that which was an act of Rebellion, and Disobedience, and Schism, to be the character of your Roman Catholicks. And after this, what can be supposed wanting in order to salvation? We have the Word of God, the Faith of the Apostles, the Creeds of the Primitive Church, the Articles of the four first general Councils, a holy Liturgy, excellent Prayers, perfect Sacraments, Faith and Repentance, the Ten Commandments, and the Sermons of Christ, and all the precepts and counsels of the Gospel; We teach the necessity of good works, and require and strictly exact the severity of a holy life; We live in obedience to God, and are ready to die for him, and do so when he requires us so to do; We speak honourably of his most holy Name, we worship him at the mention of his Name, we confess his Attributes, we love his Servants, we pray for all Men, we love all Christians, even our most erring Brethren, we confess our sins to God and to our Brethren whom we have offended, and to God's

God's Ministers in cases of Scandal, or of a troubled Conscience. We communicate often, we are enjoyned to receive the holy Sacrament thrice every Year at least; Our Priests absolve the penitent, our Bishops ordain Priests, and confirm baptized persons, and bless their people and intercede for them; and what could here be wanting to Salvation? what necessity forced you from us? I dare not suspect it was a temporal regard that drew you away, but I am sure it could be no spiritual.

But now that I have told you, and made you to consider from whence you went, give me leave to represent to you, and tell you whither you are gone, that you may understand the nature and conditions of your change; For do not think your self safe, because they tell you that you are come to the Church; You are indeed gone from one Church to another, from a better to a worse, as will appear in the induction; the particulars of which before I reckon, give me leave to give you this advice; if you mean in this affair to understand what you do; it were better you enquired what your Religion is, than what

your

your Church is; for that which is a true Religion to day, will be so to morrow and for ever; but that which is a holy Church to day, may be heretical at the next change, or may betray her trust, or obtrude new Articles in contradiction to the old, or by new interpretations may elude ancient truths, or may change your Creed, or may pretend to be the Spouse of Christ when she is idolatrous, that is, adulterous to God: Your Religion is that which you must, and therefore may competently understand; You must live in it; and grow in it, and govern all the actions of your life by it; and in all questions concerning the Church, you are to chuse your Church by the Religion, and therefore this ought first and last to be enquired after. Whether the Roman Church be the Catholick Church, must depend upon so many uncertain enquiries, is offered to be proved by so long, so tedious a method, hath in it so many intrigues and Labyrinths of Question, and is (like a long line) so impossible to be perfectly straight, and to have no declination in it when it is held by such a hand as yours, that unless it be by material enquiries into the

the Articles of the Religion, you can never hope to have juſt grounds of confidence. In the mean time you can conſider this; if the Roman Church were the Catholick, that is, ſo as to exclude all that are not of her communion, then the Greek Churches had as good turn Turks as remain damned Chriſtians, and all that are in the communion of all the other Patriarchal Churches in Chriſtendom, muſt alſo periſh like Heathens, which thing before any Man can believe, he muſt have put off all reaſon, and all modeſty, and all charity; And who can with any probability think that *the Communion of Saints* in the Creed is nothing but the *Communion of Roman Subjects*, and the Article of the Catholick Church was made up to diſpark the incloſures of *Jeruſalem*, but to turn them into the pale of *Rome*, and the Church is as limited as ever it was, ſave only that the Synagogue is tranſlated to *Rome*, which I think you will eaſily believe was a Propoſition the Apoſtles underſtood not. But though it be hard to truſt to it, it is alſo ſo hard to prove it, that you ſhall never be able to underſtand the meaſures of that queſtion, and therefore

fore your salvation can never depend upon it. For no good or wise person can believe that God hath tied our Salvation to impossible measures, or bound us to an Article that is not by us cognoscible, or intends to have us conducted by that which we cannot understand; and when you shall know that Learned men, even of the Roman party are not agreed concerning the Catholick Church that is infallibly to guide you, some saying that it is the virtual Church, that is, the Pope; some, that it is the representative Church, that is, a Council; Some, that it is the Pope and the Council, the virtual Church and the representative Church together; Some that neither of these, nor both together are infallible; but only, the essential Church, or the diffusive Church is the Catholick, from whom we must at no hand dissent; you will quickly find your self in a wood, and uncertain whether you have more than a word in exchange for your soul, when you are told you are in the Catholick Church. But I will tell you what you may understand, and see and feel, something that your self can tell whether I say true or no concerning it. You are now

now gone to a Church that protects it self by arts of subtilty and arms, by violence and persecuting all that are not of their minds, to a Church in which you are to be a Subject of the King so long as it pleases the Pope: In which you may be absolved from your Vows made to God, your Oaths to the King, your Promises to Men, your duty to your Parents in some cases: A Church in which Men pray to God, and to Saints in the same Form of words in which they pray to God, as you may see in the Offices of Saints, and particularly of our Lady: a Church in which Men are taught by most of the principal Leaders to worship Images with the same worship with which they worship God and Christ, or him or her whose Image it is, and in which they usually picture God the Father, and the holy Trinity, to the great dishonour of that sacred mystery, against the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Church, against the express doctrine of Scripture, against the honour of a Divine Attribute; I mean, the immensity and spirituality of the Divine Nature; You are gone to a Church that pretends to be Infallible, and yet is infinitely deceived

in

in many particulars, and yet endures no contradiction, and is impatient her children should enquire into any thing her Priests obtrude. You are gone from receiving the whole Sacrament to receive it but half; from Christ's Institution to a humane invention, from Scripture to uncertain Traditions, and from ancient Traditions to new pretences, from prayers which ye understood, to prayers which ye understand not, from confidence in God to rely upon creatures, from intire dependence upon inward acts to a dangerous temptation of resting too much in outward ministeries, in the external work of Sacraments and of Sacramentals: You are gone from a Church whose worshipping is simple, Christian and Apostolical, to a Church where Mens consciences are loaden with a burden of Ceremonies greater than that in the days of the Jewish Religion (for the Ceremonial of the Church of *Rome* is a great Book in Folio) greater I say than all the Ceremonies of the Jews contained in *Leviticus*, &c. You are gone from a Church where you were exhorted to read the Word of God, the holy Scriptures from whence you found instruction, institution,

tution, comfort, reproof, a treasure of all excellencies, to a Church that seals up that fountain from you, and gives you drink by drops out of such Cisterns as they first make, and then stain, and then reach out: and if it be told you that some Men abuse Scripture, it is true, for if your Priests had not abused Scripture, they could not thus have abused you, but there is no necessity they should, and you need not, unless you list; any more than you need to abuse the Sacraments or decrees of the Church, or the messages of your friend, or the Letters you receive, or the Laws of the Land, all which are liable to be abused by evil persons, but not by good people and modest understandings. It is now become a part of your Religion to be ignorant, to walk in blindness, to believe the Man that hears your Confessions, to hear none but him, not to hear God speaking but by him, and so you are liable to be abused by him, as he please, without remedy. You are gone from us, where you were only taught to worship God through Jesus Christ, and now you are taught to worship Saints and Angels with worship at least dangerous, and in some

things

things proper to God; for your Church worships the Virgin *Mary* with burning incense and candles to her, and you give her presents, which by the consent of all Nations used to be esteemed a worship peculiar to God, and it is the same thing which was condemned for Heresie in the *Collyridians*, who offered a Cake to the Virgin *Mary*; A Candle and a Cake make no difference in the worship; and your joyning God and the Saints in your worship and devotions, is like the device of them that fought for King and Parliament, the latter destroys the former. I will trouble you with no more particulars, because if these move you not to consider better, nothing can.

But yet I have two things more to add of another nature, one of which at least may prevail upon you, whom I suppose to have a tender and a religious Conscience.

The first is, That all the points of difference between us and your Church are such as do evidently serve the ends of Covetousness and ambition, of power and riches.

riches, and so stand vehemently suspected of design, and art, rather than truth of the Article and designs upon Heaven. I instance in the Pope's power over Princes and all the World; his power of dispensation, The exemption of the Clergy from jurisdiction of Princes, The Doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences which was once made means to raise a portion for a Lady, the Neece of Pope *Leo* the Tenth; The Priests power advanced beyond authority of any warrant from Scripture, a doctrine apt to bring absolute obedience to the Papacy; but because this is possibly too nice for you to suspect or consider, that which I am sure ought to move you is this.

That you are gone to a Religion in which though through God's grace prevailing over the follies of men, there are hope, and charitably suppose many pious Men that love God, and live good lives, yet there are very many doctrines taught by your Men, which are very ill friends to a good life I instance in your Indulgences and pardons, in which vitious men put a great confidence, and rely greatly upon them. The doctrine of Purgatory

things proper to God; for your Church worships the Virgin *Mary* with burning incense and candles to her, and you give her presents, which by the consent of all Nations used to be esteemed a worship peculiar to God, and it is the same thing which was condemned for Heresie in the *Collyridians*, who offered a Cake to the Virgin *Mary*; A Candle and a Cake make no difference in the worship; and your joyning God and the Saints in your worship and devotions, is like the device of them that fought for King and Parliament, the latter destroys the former. I will trouble you with no more particulars, because if these move you not to consider better, nothing can.

But yet I have two things more to add of another nature, one of which at least may prevail upon you, whom I suppose to have a tender and a religious Conscience.

The first is, That all the points of difference between us and your Church are such as do evidently serve the ends of Covetousness and ambition, of power and riches,

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That you are gone to a Religion in which though through God's grace prevailing over the follies of men, there are I hope, and charitably ſuppoſe many pious Men that love God, and live good lives, yet there are very many doctrines taught by your Men, which are very ill Friends to a good life I inſtance in your Indulgences and pardons, in which vitious men put a great confidence, and rely greatly upon them. The doctrine of Purgatory

gatory which gives countenance to a sort of Christians who live half to God and half to the World, and for them this doctrine hath found out a way that they may go to Hell and to Heaven too. The Doctrine that the Priests absolution can turn a trifling repentance into a perfect and a good, and that suddenly too, and at any time, even on our Death-bed, or the minute before your death, is a dangerous heap of falshoods, and gives licence to wicked people, and teaches men to reconcile a wicked debauched life, with the hopes of Heaven. And then for penances and temporal satisfaction, which might seem to be as a plank after the shipwrack of the duty of Repentance, to keep men in awe, and to preserve them from sinking in an Ocean of Impiety, it comes to just nothing by your doctrine; for there are so many easie ways of Indulgences and getting Pardons, so many con-fraternities, stations, privileg'd Altars, little Offices, *Agnus Dei*'s, amulets, hallowed devices, swords, roses, hats, Church-yards, and the fountain of these annexed indulgences the Pope himself, and his power of granting, what, and when, and to whom he list, that

that he is a very unfortunate man that needs to ſmart with penances; and after all, he may chuſe to ſuffer any at all, for he may pay them in Purgatory if he pleaſe, and he may come out of Purgatory upon reaſonable terms, in caſe he ſhould think it fit to go thither; ſo that all the whole duty of *Repentance* ſeems to be deſtroyed with devices of Men that ſeek power and gain, and find error and folly; inſomuch that if I had a mind to live an evil Life, and yet hope for Heaven at laſt, I would be of your religion above any in the World.

But I forget I am writing a Letter: I ſhall therefore deſire you to conſider upon the premiſes, which is the ſafer way. For ſurely it is lawful for a Man to ſerve God without Images; but that to worſhip Images is lawful, is not ſo ſure. It is lawful to pray to God alone, to confeſs him to be true, and every Man a liar, to call no man Maſter upon Earth, but to rely upon God teaching us; But it is at leaſt ugely diſputable and not at all certain hat any Man, or ſociety of Men can be nfallible, that we may put our truſt in

Saints,

Saints, in certain extraordinary Images, or burn Incenſe and offer conſumptive oblations to the Virgin *Mary*, or make vows to perſons, of whoſe ſtate, or place, or capacities, or condition we have no certain revelation: we are ſure we do well when in the holy Communion we worſhip God and Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, but they who alſo worſhip what ſeems to be bread, are put to ſtrange ſhifts to make themſelves believe it to be lawful. It is certainly lawful to believe what we ſee and feel; but it is an unnatural thing upon pretence of faith to disbelieve our eyes, when our ſenſe & our faith can better be reconciled, as it is in the queſtion of the Real preſence, as it is taught by the Church of *England*.

So that unleſs you mean to prefer a danger before ſafety, temptation to unholineſs before a ſevere and a holy religion, unleſs you mean to loſe the benefit of your prayers by praying what you perceive not, and the benefit of the Sacrament in great degrees by falling from Chriſt's inſtitution, and taking half inſtead of all; unleſs you deſire to provoke God to jealouſie by Images, and Man to jealouſie in pro-

profeſſing a Religion in which you may in many caſes have leave to forfeit your faith and lawful truſt, unleſs you will ſtill continue to give ſcandal to thoſe good people with whom you have lived in a common Religion, and weaken the hearts of Gods afflicted ones, unleſs you will chuſe a Catechiſm without the ſecond Commandment, and a Faith that grows bigger or leſs as men pleaſe, and a Hope that in many degrees relyes on men and vain confidences, and a Charity that damns all the World but your ſelves; unleſs you will do all this, that is, ſuffer an abuſe in your Prayers, in the Sacrament, in the Commandments, in Faith, in Hope, in Charity, in the Communion of Saints, and your duty to your Supreme, you muſt return to the boſom of your Mother the Church of *England* from whence you have fallen, rather weakly than maliciouſly, and I doubt not but you will find the Comfort of it all your Life, and in the Day of your Death, and in the Day of Judgment. If you will not, yet I have freed mine own ſoul, and done an act of Duty and Charity, which at leaſt you are bound to take kindly if you will not entertain it obediently.

Now

Now let me add this, that although moſt of theſe objections are ſuch things which are the open and avowed doctrines or practices of your Church, and need not to be proved as being either notorious or confeſſed; yet if any of your Guides ſhall ſeem to queſtion any thing of it, I will bind my ſelf to verifie it to a tittle, and in that too which I intend them, that is, ſo as to be an objection obliging you to return, under the pain of folly or hereſie, or diſobedience, according to the ſubject matter. And though I have propounded theſe things now to your conſideration, yet if it be deſired I ſhall repreſent them to your eye, ſo that even your ſelf ſhall be able to give ſentence in the behalf of truth. In the mean time give me leave to tell you of how much folly you are guilty in being moved by ſuch mock-arguments as your men uſe when they meet with women and tender conſciences and weaker underſtandings.

The firſt is; where was your Church before *Luther*? Now if you had called upon them to ſpeak ſomething againſt your

your religion from Scripture, or right reaſon, or Univerſal Tradition, you had been ſecure as a Tortoiſe in her ſhell; a Cart preſſed with ſheaves could not have oppreſſed your cauſe or perſon, though you had confeſſed you underſtood nothing of the myſteries of ſucceſſion doctrinal or perſonal. For if we can make it appear that our religion was that which Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught, let the truth ſuffer what eclipſes or prejudices can be ſuppoſed, let it be hid like the holy fire in the captivity, yet what Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught us is eternally true, and ſhall by ſome means or other be conveyed to us; even the enemies of truth have been conſervators of that truth by which we can confute their errors. But if you ſtill ask where it was before *Luther*? I anſwer it was there where it was after; even in the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament; and I know no warrant for any other religion; and if you will expect I ſhould ſhew any ſociety of Men who profeſſed all the doctrines which are now expreſſed in the confeſſion of the Church of *England*; I ſhall tell you it is unreaſonable; becauſe

some of our truths are now brought into our publick confessions that they might be oppos'd against your errors; before the occasion of which there was no need of any such confessions, till you made many things necessary to be professed, which are not lawful to be believed. For if we believe your superinduc'd follies, we shall do unreasonably, unconscionably, and wickedly; but the questions themselves are so useless abstracting from the accidental necessity which your follies have brought upon us, that it had been happy if we had never heard of them more than the Saints and Martyrs did in the first ages of the Church; but because your Clergy have invaded the liberty of the Church, and multiplied the dangers of damnation, and pretend new necessities, and have introduc'd new articles, and affright the simple upon new pretensions, and slight the very institution and the Commands of Christ and of the Apostles, and invent new Sacramentals constituting Ceremonies of their own head, and promise grace along with the use of them, as if they were not Ministers but Lords of the Spirit, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men,

men, and make void the Commandment of God by their tradition, and have made a ſtrange body of Divinity; therefore it is neceſſary that we ſhould immure our Faith by the refuſal of ſuch vain and ſuperſtitious dreams: but our faith was completed at firſt, it is no other than that which was delivered to the Saints, and can be no more for ever.

So that it is a fooliſh demand to require that we ſhould ſhew before *Luther* a ſyſteme of Articles declaring our ſenſe in theſe queſtions: It was long before they were queſtions at all; and when they were made queſtions, they remained ſo, a long time; and when by their ſeveral pieces they were determined, this part of the Church was oppreſſed with a violent power; and when God gave opportunity, then the yoke was broken; and this is the whole progreſs of this affair. But if you will ſtill inſiſt upon it, then let the matter be put into equal ballances, and let them ſhew any Church whoſe Confeſſion of Faith was ſuch as was obtruded upon you at *Trent*: And if your Religion be *Pius Quartus* his Creed at *Trent*, then we

also have a question to ask, and that is *Where was your Religion before Trent?*

The Council of *Trent* determined that the souls departed before the Day of Judgment enjoy the Beatifical Vision. It is certain this Article could not be shewn in the Confession of any of the ancient Churches; for most of the Fathers were of another opinion. But that which is the greatest offence of Christendom is not only that these doctrines which we say are false were yet affirmed, but that those things which the Church of God did always reject, or held as uncertain, should be made Articles of Faith, and so become parts of your religion; and of these it is that I again ask the question which none of your side shall ever be able to answer for you: Where was your Religion before *Trent*? I could instance in many particulars; but I shall name one to you, which because the thing of it self is of no great consequence, it will appear the more unreasonable and intolerable that your Church should adopt it into the things of necessary belief, especially since it was only a matter of fact, and they took the false

falſe part too. For in the 21. Seſſ. Chap. 4. it is affirmed, That *although the holy Fathers did give the Sacrament of the Euchariſt to Infants, yet they did it without any neceſſity of ſalvation*; that is, they did not believe it neceſſary to their ſalvation, which is notoriouſly falſe, and the contrary is marked out with the black-lead of every man almoſt that reads their Works; and yet your Council ſays this is *ſine controverſiâ credendum*; to be believed without all controverſie: and all Chriſtians forbidden to believe or teach otherwiſe. So that here it is made an Article of Faith amongſt you, that a man ſhall neither believe his reaſon nor his eyes: and who can ſhew any confeſſion of Faith in which all the *Trent* doctrine was profeſſed and enjoyned under pain of damnation? and before the Council of *Conſtance*, the Doctrine touching the Popes power was ſo new, ſo decried, that as *Gerſon* ſays, he hardly ſhould have eſcaped the note of Hereſie that would have ſaid ſo much as was there defined: ſo that in that Article which now makes a great part of your belief, where was your Religion before the

De Poteſt. Eccleſ. conſ. 12.

Council of *Constance*? and it is notorious that your Council of *Constance* determined the doctrine of the half communion with a *Non obstante* to Christ's institution, that is, with a defiance to it, or a noted, observed neglect of it, and with a profession it was otherwise in the Primitive Church. Where then was your Religion before *John Hus* and *Hierom* of *Prague*'s time, against whom that Council was convened? But by this instance it appears most certainly that your Church cannot shew her confessions immediately after Christ, and therefore if we could not shew ours immediately before *Luther*, it were not half so much; for since you receded from Christ's Doctrine we might well recede from yours; and it matters not who or how many or how long they professed your doctrine, if neither Christ nor his Apostles did teach it: so that if these Articles constitute your Church, your Church was invisible at the first, and if ours was invisible afterwards, it matters not; *For yours was invisible in the days of light, and ours was invisible in the days of darkness.* For our Church was always visible in the reflections of Scripture, and he that had his

his eyes of faith and reaſon might eaſily have ſeen theſe truths all the way which conſtitute our Church. But I add yet farther, that our Church before *Luther* was there where your Church was, in the ſame place and in the ſame perſons; for divers of the errors which have been amongſt us reformed, were not the conſtituent Articles of your Church before *Luther*'s time; for before the laſt Councils of your Church a man might have been of your Communion upon eaſier terms; and Indulgences were indeed a practice, but no Article of Faith before your men made it ſo, and that very lately, and ſo were many other things beſides. So that although your men cozen the credulous and the ſimple by calling yours *The old Religion*, yet the difference is vaſt between Truth and their affirmative, even as much as between old Errors and new Articles. For although Ignorance and Superſtition had prepared the ore, yet the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and *Trent* eſpecially, were the forges and the mint.

Laſtly, if your men had not by all the vile and violent arts of the World ſtopped

the mouths of diſſenters, the queſtion would quickly have been anſwered, or our Articles would have been ſo confeſſed, ſo owned and ſo publick, that the queſtion could never have been asked; but in deſpite of all oppoſition, there were great numbers of profeſſors who did proteſt and profeſs and practiſe our doctrines contrary to your Articles; as it is demonſtrated by the Divines of *Germany* in *Illyricus* his *Catalogus teſtium veritatis*, and in Biſhop *Mortons* appeal.

But with your next objection you are better pleaſed, and your Men make moſt noiſe with it. For you pretend that by our confeſſion ſalvation may be had in your Church; but your men deny it to us; and therefore by the confeſſion of both ſides you may be ſafe, and there is no queſtion concerning you; but of us there is great queſtion, for none but our ſelves ſay that we can be ſaved.

I anſwer, 1. That ſalvation may be had in your Church, is it ever the truer becauſe we ſay it? If it be not, it can add no confidence to you, for the propoſition gets

gets no ſtrength by your affirmative. But if it be, then our authority is good or elſe our reaſon; and if either be, then we have more reaſon to be believed ſpeaking of our ſelves; becauſe we are concerned to ſee that our ſelves may be in a ſtate of hope; and therefore we would not venture on this ſide if we had not greater reaſon to believe well of our ſelves than of you. And therefore believe us when it is more likely that we have greater reaſon, becauſe we have greater concernments, and therefore greater conſiderations.

2. As much charity as your Men pretend us to ſpeak of you, yet it is a clear caſe our hope of your ſalvation is ſo little that we dare not venture our ſelves on your ſide. The Burger of *Oldwater* being to paſs a River in his Journey to *Daventry*, bad his Man try the Ford; telling him he hoped he ſhould not be drowned, for though he was afraid the River was too deep, yet he thought his Horſe would carry him out, or at leaſt, the Boats would fetch him off. Such a confidence we may have of you, but you will find that but little warranty, if you remember how

great an intereſt it is that you venture.

3. It would be remembred that though the beſt ground of your hope is not the goodneſs of your own faith, but the greatneſs of our charity; yet we that charitably hope well of you, have a fulneſs of aſſurance of the truth and certainty of our own way; and however you can pleaſe your ſelves with Images of things as having no firm footing for your trifling confidence, yet you can never with your tricks out-face us of juſt and firm adherencies; and if you were not empty of ſupports, and greedy of bulruſhes, ſnatching at any thing to ſupport your ſinking cauſe, you would with fear and trembling conſider the direct dangers which we demonſtrate to you to be in your religion rather than flatter your ſelves with collateral, weak, and deceitful hopes of accidental poſſibilities, that ſome of you may eſcape.

4. If we be more charitable to you than you are to us, acknowledge in us the beauty and eſſential form of Chriſtian Religion; be ſure you love as well as make uſe of our charity; but if you make our charity

charity an argument againſt us, remember that you render us evil in exchange for good; and let it be no brag to you that you have not that charity to us; for therefore the Donatiſts were condemned for Hereticks and Schiſmaticks becauſe they damn'd all the World, and afforded no charity to any that was not of their Communion.

5. But that our charity may be ſuch indeed, that is, that it may do you a real benefit, and not turn into Wormwood and Colloquintida, I pray take notice in what ſenſe it is that we allow ſalvation may poſſibly be had in your Church. We warrant it not to any, we only hope it for ſome, we allow it to them as to the Sadducees in the Law, and to the *Corinthians* in the Goſpel who denied the reſurrection; that is, till they were ſufficiently inſtructed, and competently convinced, and had time and powers to out-wear their prejudices and the impreſſes of their education and long perſwaſion. But to them amongſt you who can and do conſider and yet determine for error and intereſt, we have a greater charity, even ſo much

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as to labour and pray for their conversion, but not so much fondness as to flatter them into boldness and pertinacious adherencies to matters of so great danger.

6. But in all this affair, though your men are very bold with God and leap into his Judgment-seat before him, and give wild sentences concerning the salvation of your own party and the damnation of all that disagree, yet that which is our charity to you, is indeed the fear of God, and the reverence of his judgments; we do not say that all Papists are certainly damn'd; we wish and desire vehemently that none of you may perish; but then this charity of judgment relates not to you, nor is derived from any probability which we see in your doctrines that differ from ours; but because we know not what rate and value God puts upon the article; It concerns neither you nor us to say, this or that man shall be damn'd for his opinion; for besides that this is a bold intrusion into that secret of God which shall not be opened till the Day of Judgment, and besides that we know not what allays and abatements are to be made by the good

good meaning and the ignorance of the man; all that can concern us is to tell you that you are in error, that you depart from Scripture, that you exerciſe tyranny over ſouls, that you leave the Divine inſtitution, and prevaricate Gods Commandment, that you divide the Church without truth and without neceſſity, that you tie Men to believe things under pain of damnation which cannot be made very probable, much leſs certain; and therefore that you ſin againſt God and are in danger of his eternal diſpleaſure; but in giving the final ſentence as we have no more to do than your men have, yet ſo we refuſe to follow your evil example; and we follow the glorious precedent of our Bleſſed Lord; who decreed and declared againſt the crime, but not againſt the Criminal before the day. He that does this, or that, is in danger of the Council, or in danger of judgment, or liable and obnoxious to the danger of hell fire, ſo we ſay of your greateſt errors; they put you in the danger of periſhing; but that you ſhall or ſhall not periſh, we leave it to your Judge; and if you call this charity, it is well, I am ſure it is piety and the fear of God.

7. Whe-

7. Whether you may be ſaved, or whether you ſhall be damned for your errors, does neither depend upon our affirmative nor your negative, but according to the rate and value which God ſets upon things. Whatever we talk, things are as they are, not as we diſpute, or grant, or hope; and therefore it were well if your men would leave abuſing you and themſelves with theſe little arts of indirect ſupport. For many men that are warranted, yet do eternally periſh, and you in your Church damn Millions who I doubt not ſhall reign with *Jeſus* eternally in the Heavens.

8. I wiſh you would conſider, that if any of our men ſay ſalvation may be had in your Church, it is not for the goodneſs of your new propoſitions, but only becauſe you do keep ſo much of that which is our Religion, that upon the confidence of that we hope well concerning you. And we do not hope any thing at all that is good of you or your Religion as it diſtinguiſhes from us and ours: we hope that the good which you have common with us may obtain pardon directly or indirectly, or may be

be an antidote of the venome, and an amulet againſt the danger of your very great errors, ſo that if you can derive any confidence from our conceſſion, you muſt remember where it takes root; not upon any thing of yours, but wholly upon the excellency of ours; you are not at all ſafe, or warranted for being Papiſts, but we hope well of ſome of you, for having ſo much of the Proteſtant: and if that will do you any good, proceed in it, and follow it whitherſoever it leads you.

9. The ſafety that you dream of which we ſay to be on your ſide, is nothing of allowance or warranty, but a hope that is collateral, indirect and relative; we do not ſay any thing whereby you can conclude yours to be ſafer than ours, for it is not ſafe at all, but extremely dangerous; we affirm thoſe errors in themſelves to be damnable, ſome to contain in them Impiety, ſome to have Sacriledge, ſome Idolatry, ſome Superſtition, ſome practices to be conjuring and charming and very like to Witchcraft, as in your hallowing of Water, and baptizing Bells, and exorcizing Demoniacks; and what ſafety there can be in

in these, or what you can fancy we should allow to you, I suppose you need not boast of. Now because we hope some are saved amongst you, you must not conclude yours to be safe; for our hope relies upon this. There are many of your propositions in which we differ from you, that Thousands amongst you understand and know nothing of, it is to them as if they were not, it is to them now as it was before the Council, they hear not of it. And though your Priests have taken a course that the most ignorant do practise some of your abominations most grosly, yet we hope this will not be laid upon them who (as S. *Austin*'s expression is) *cautâ sollicitudine quærunt veritatem, corrigi parati cùm invenerint*: do according as they are able warily and diligently seek for truth, and are ready to follow it when they find it; Men who live good lives, and repent of all their evils known and unknown. Now if we are not deceived in our hopes, these Men shall rejoyce in the eternal goodness of God, which prevails over the malice of them that misguide you; but if we be deceived in our hopes of you, your guides have abus'd you, and the blind leaders

leaders of the blind will fall together. For,

10. If you will have the ſecret of this whole affair, this it is. The hopes we have of any of you, (as it is known) principally relies upon the hopes of your repentance. Now we ſay that a Man may repent of an error which he knows not of; as he that prays heartily for the pardon of all his ſins and errors known and unknown; by his general repentance may obtain many degrees and inſtances of mercy. Now thus much alſo your Men allow to us; thoſe who live well, and die in a true though but general repentance of their ſins and errors even amongſt us, your beſt and wiſeſt Men pronounce to be in a ſavable condition. Here then we are equal, and we are as ſafe by your confeſſion as you are by ours. But becauſe there are ſome Bigots of your faction fierce and fiery who ſay that a general repentance will not ſerve our turns, but it muſt be a particular renunciation of Proteſtancy; theſe men deny not only to us but to themſelves too, all that comfort which they derive from our Conceſſion, and indeed which they

can

can hope for from the mercies of God. For be you ſure we think as ill of your errors as you can ſuppoſe of our Articles; and therefore if for errors (be they on which ſide it chances) a general repentance will not ſerve the turn without an actual dereliction, then flatter not your ſelves by any thing of our kindneſs to your party; for you muſt have a particular, if a general be not ſufficient. But if it be ſufficient for you, it is ſo for us, in caſe we be in error as your men ſuppoſe us; but if it will not ſuffice us for remedy to thoſe errors you charge us with, neither will it ſuffice you; for the caſe muſt needs be equal as to the value of repentance and malignity of the error: and therefore theſe men condemn themſelves and will not allow us to hope well of them; but if they will allow us to hope, it muſt be by affirming the value of a general repentance; and if they allow that, they muſt hope as well of ours as we of theirs: but if they deny it to us, they deny it to themſelves, and then they can no more brag of any thing of our conceſſion. This only I add to this conſideration; that your men do not, cannot charge upon

upon us any doctrine that is in its matter and effect impious; there is nothing poſitive in our doctrine, but is either true or innocent, but we are accus'd for denying your ſuperſtructures: ours therefore (if we be deceived) is but like a ſin of omiſſion; yours are ſins of commiſſion in caſe you are in the wrong (as we believe you to be) and therefore you muſt needs be in a greater danger than we can be ſuppoſed, by how much ſins of omiſſion are leſs than ſins of commiſſion.

11. Your very way of arguing from our charity is a very fallacy and a trick that muſt needs deceive you if you rely upon it. For whereas your men argue thus: The Proteſtants ſay we Papiſts may be ſaved; and ſo ſay we too: but we Papiſts ſay that you Proteſtants cannot, therefore it is ſafeſt to be a Papiſt; conſider that of this argument if it ſhall be accepted, any bold heretick can make uſe, againſt any modeſt Chriſtian of a true perſwaſion. For, if he can but out-face the modeſty of the good man, and tell him he ſhall be damn'd; unleſs that modeſt man ſay as much of him, you ſee impudence ſhall get the

the better of the day. But it is thus in every error. Fifteen Biſhops of *Jeruſalem* in immediate ſucceſſion were circumciſed, believing it to be neceſſary ſo to be: with theſe other Chriſtian Churches who were of the uncircumciſion did communicate: Suppoſe now that theſe Biſhops had not only thought it neceſſary for themſelves but for others too; this argument you ſee was ready: you of the uncircumciſion who do communicate with us, think that we may be ſaved though we are circumciſed, but we do not think that you who are not circumciſed can be ſaved, therefore it is the ſafeſt way to be circumciſed: I ſuppoſe you would not have thought their argument good, neither would you have had your children circumciſed. But this argument may ſerve the Presbyterians as well as the Papiſts. We are indeed very kind to them in our ſentences concerning their ſalvation; and they are many of them as unkind to us; If they ſhould argue ſo as you do, and ſay, you Epiſcopal men think we Presbyterians though in errors can be ſaved, and we ſay ſo too: but we think you Epiſcopal men are Enemies of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt;

Chriſt; and therefore we think you in a damnable condition, therefore it is ſafer to be a Presbyterian: I know not what your men would think of the argument in their hands, I am ſure we had reaſon to complain that we are uſed very ill on both hands for no other cauſe but becauſe we are charitable. But it is not our caſe alone; but the old Catholicks were uſed juſt ſo by the Donatiſts in this very argument, as we are uſed by your men. The Donatiſts were ſo fierce againſt the Catholicks, that they would re-baptize all them who came to their Churches from the other: But the Catholicks, as knowing the Donatiſts did give right Baptiſm, admitted their Converts to Repentance, but did not re-baptize them. Upon this ſcore, the Donatiſts triumphed, ſaying, You Catholicks confeſs our Baptiſm to be good, and ſo ſay we: But we Donatiſts deny your Baptiſm to be good; therefore it is ſafer to be of our ſide than yours. Now what ſhould the Catholicks ſay or do? Should they lie for God and for Religion, and to ſerve the ends of Truth ſay the Donatiſts Baptiſm was not good? That they ought not. Should they damn all the Donatiſts, and

and make the rent wider? It was too great already. What then? They were quiet, and knew that the Donatists sought advantages by their own fierceness, and trampled upon the others charity; but so they hardned themselves in error, and became evil, because the others were good.

I shall trouble you no further now, but desire you to consider of these things with as much caution, as they were written with charity.

Till I hear from you, I shall pray to God to open your heart and your understanding, that you may return from whence you are fallen, and repent, and do your first work: Which that you may do, is the hearty desire of

Your very affectionate
Friend and Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

The

The II. Letter

Written to a Perſon newly converted to the Church of England.

Madam,

I Bleſs God I am ſafely arrived where I deſired to be after my unwilling departure from the place of your abode and danger: And now becauſe I can have no other expreſſion of my tenderneſs, I account that I have a treble Obligation to ſignifie it by my care of your biggeſt and eternal intereſt. And becauſe it hath pleaſed God to make me an Inſtrument of making you to underſtand in ſome fair meaſure the excellencies of a true and holy Religion, and that I have pointed out ſuch follies and errors in the Roman Church,

Church, at which your underſtanding being forward and pregnant, did of it ſelf ſtart as at imperfect ill-looking Propoſitions, give me leave to do that now which is the purpoſe of my Charity, that is, teach you to turn this to the advantage of a holy life, that you may not only be changed but converted. For the Church of *England* whither you are now come is not in condition to boaſt her ſelf in the reputation of changing the opinion of a ſingle perſon though never ſo excellent; She hath no temporal ends to ſerve which muſt ſtand upon fame and noiſes; all that ſhe can deſign, is to ſerve God, to advance the honour of the Lord, and the good of ſouls, and to rejoyce in the Croſs of Chriſt.

Firſt therefore I deſire you to remember that as now you are taught to pray both publickly and privately, in a Language underſtood, ſo it is intended your affections ſhould be forward, in proportion to the advantages which your prayer hath in the underſtanding part. For though you have been often told and have heard, that ignorance is the mother of devotion,

you

you will find that the propoſition is unnatural and againſt common ſenſe and experience; becauſe it is impoſſible to deſire that of which we know nothing, unleſs the deſire it ſelf be fantaſtical and illuſive: it is neceſſary that in the ſame proportion in which we underſtand any good thing, in the ſame we ſhall alſo deſire it, and the more particular and minute your notices are, the more paſſionate and material alſo your affections will be towards it; and if they be good things for which we are taught to pray, the more you know them the more reaſon you have to love them; It is monſtrous to thing that devotion, that is, paſſionate deſires of religious things, and the earneſt proſecutions of them ſhould be produced by any thing of ignorance or leſs perfect notices in any ſenſe. Since therefore you are taught to pray, ſo that your underſtanding is the præcentor or the Maſter of the Quire, and you know what you ſay; your deſires are made humane, religious, expreſs, material (for theſe are the advantages of Prayers and Liturgies well underſtood) be pleaſed alſo to remember, that now if you be not alſo paſſionate and devout for the thing you mention, you

will want the Spirit of prayer, and be more inexcusable than before. In many of your prayers before (especially the publick) you heard a voice but saw and perceived nothing of the sense, and what you understood of it was like the man in the Gospel that was half blind, he saw men walking like Trees, and so you possibly might perceive the meaning of it in general; You knew where they came to the Epistle, when to the Gospel, when the Introit, when the *Pax*, when any of the other more general periods were; but you could have nothing of the Spirit of prayer, that is, nothing of the devotion and the holy affections to the particular excellencies which could or ought there to have been represented; but now you are taught how you may be really devout, it is made facil and easie, and there can want nothing but your consent and observation.

2. Whereas now you are taken off from all humane confidences, from relying wholly and almost ultimately upon the Priests power and external act, from reckoning prayers by numbers, from forms and out-sides, you are not to think that the

the Prieſts power is leſs, that the Sacraments are not effective, that your prayers may not be repeated frequently; but you are to remember, that all outward things and Ceremonies, all Sacraments and Inſtitutions work their effect in the vertue of Chriſt, by ſome moral Inſtrument; The Prieſts in the Church of *England* can abſolve you as much as the Roman Prieſts could fairly pretend; but then we teach that you muſt firſt be a penitent and a returning perſon, and our abſolution does but manifeſt the work of God, and comfort and inſtruct your Conſcience, direct and manage it; You ſhall be abſolved here, but not unleſs you live an holy life; So that in this you will find no change but to the advantage of a ſtrict life; we will not flatter you and cozen your dear ſoul by pretended miniſteries, but we ſo order our diſcourſes and directions that all our miniſtrations may be really effective, and when you receive the holy Sacrament of the Euchariſt, or the Lords Supper, it does more good here than they do there, becauſe if they conſecrate rightly, yet they do not communicate you fully; and if they offer the whole repreſentative Sacrifice, yet they

do not give you the whole Sacrament; only we enjoyn that you come with so much holiness, that the grace of God in your heart may be the principal, and the Sacrament in our hands may be the ministring and assisting part: we do not promise great effects to easie trifling dispositions, because we would not deceive, but really procure to you great effects; and therefore you are now to come to our offices with the same expectations as before, of pardon, of grace, of sanctification; but you must do something more of the work your self, that we may not do less in effect than you have in your expectation; We will not to advance the reputation of our power, deceive you into a less blessing.

3. Be careful that you do not flatter your self, that in our Communion you may have more ease and liberty of life; for though I know your pious soul desires passionately to please God and to live religiously, yet I ought to be careful to prevent a temptation, lest it at any time should discompose your severity: Therefore as to confession to a Priest (which how it is

usually

uſually practiſed among the Roman party, your ſelf can very well account, and you have complain'd ſadly, that it is made an ordinary act, eaſie and tranſient, ſometime matter of temptation, oftentimes impertinent, but) ſuppoſe it free from ſuch ſcandal to which ſome mens folly did betray it, yet the ſame ſeverity you'l find among us; for though we will not tell a lie to help a ſinner, and ſay that is neceſſary which is only appointed to make men do themſelves good, yet we adviſe and commend it, and do all the work of ſouls to all thoſe people that will be ſaved by all means; to devout perſons, that make Religion the buſineſs of their lives, and they that do not ſo in the Churches of the Roman Communion, as they find but little advantage by periodical confeſſions, ſo they feel but little awfulneſs and ſeverity by the injunction; you muſt confeſs to God all your ſecret actions, you muſt adviſe with a holy man in all the affairs of your ſoul, you will be but an ill friend to your ſelf if you conceal from him the ſtate of your ſpiritual affairs: We deſire not to hear the circumſtance of every ſin, but when matter of juſtice is concern-

ed, or the nature of the ſin is changed, that is, when it ought to be made a Queſtion; and you will find that though the Church of *England* gives you much liberty from the bondage of innumerable Ceremonies and humane devices, yet in the matter of holineſs you will be tied to very great ſervice, but ſuch a ſervice as is perfect freedom, that is, the ſervice of God and the love of the holy Jeſus, and a very ſtrict religious life; for we do not promiſe heaven, but upon the ſame terms it is promiſed us, that is, *Repentance towards God, and Faith in our Lord Jeſus:* and as in faith we make no more to be neceſſary than what is made ſo in holy Scripture, ſo in the matter of Repentance we give you no eaſie devices, and ſuffer no leſſening definitions of it, but oblige you to that ſtrictneſs which is the condition of being ſaved, and ſo expreſſed to be by the infallible Word of God; but ſuch as in the Church of *Rome* they do not ſo much ſtand upon.

Madam, I am weary of my Journey, and although I did purpoſe to have ſpoken many things more, yet I deſire that my not

not doing it may be laid upon the account of my wearineſs, all that I ſhall add to the main buſineſs is this.

4. Read the Scripture diligently, and with an humble ſpirit, and in it obſerve what is plain, and believe and live accordingly. Trouble not your ſelf with what is difficult, for in that your duty is not deſcribed.

5. Pray frequently and effectually; I had rather your prayers ſhould be often than long. It was well ſaid of *Petrarch*, *Magno verborum fræno uti decet cum ſuperiore colloquentem.* When you ſpeak to your Superiour you ought to have a bridle upon your tongue, much more when you ſpeak to God. I ſpeak of what is decent in reſpect of our ſelves and our infinite diſtances from God: but if love makes you ſpeak, ſpeak on, ſo ſhall your prayers be full of charity and devotion, *Nullus eſt amore ſuperior, ille te coget ad veniam, qui me ad multiloquium*; Love makes God to be our friend, and our approaches more united and acceptable; and therefore you may ſay to God, *the ſame love*

which made me ſpeak, will alſo move me to hear and pardon: Love and devotion may enlarge your Litanies, but nothing elſe can, unleſs Authority does interpoſe.

6. Be curious not to communicate but with the true Sons of the Church of *England*, leſt (if you follow them that were amongſt us, but are gone out from us, becauſe they were not of us) you be offended and tempted to impute their follies to the Church of *England*.

7. Trouble your ſelf with no controverſies willingly, but how you may beſt pleaſe God by a ſtrict and ſevere converſation.

8. If any Proteſtant live looſely, remember that he diſhonours an excellent Religion, and that it may be no more laid upon the Charge of our Church, than the ill lives of moſt Chriſtians may upon the whole Religion.

9. Let no Man or Woman affright you with declamations and ſcaring words of *Heretick*, and *Damnation*, and *Changeable*; for

for theſe words may be ſpoken againſt them that return to light, as well as to thoſe that go to darkneſs, and that which Men of all ſides can ſay, it can be of effect to no ſide upon its own ſtrength or pretenſion.

THE END.

POST-SCRIPT.

Madam,

IF You ſhall think it fit that theſe Papers paſs further than Your own eye and Cloſet, I deſire they may be conſign'd into the hands of my worthy friend Dr. Wedderburne: *For I do not only expoſe all my ſickneſs to his cure, but I ſubmit my weakneſſes to his cenſure, being as confident to find of him charity for what is pardonable, as remedy for what is curable: but indeed Madam I look upon that worthy Man as an* Idea *of friendſhip, and if I had no other notices of Friendſhip or converſation to inſtruct me than his, it were ſufficient: For whatſoever I can ſay of Friendſhip, I can ſay of his, and as all that know him reckon him amongſt the beſt Phyſicians, ſo I know him worthy to be reckoned amongſt the beſt friends.*

The

The III. Letter

Written to a Gentleman that was tempted to the Communion of the Romiſh *Church.*

SIR,

YOU needed not to make the Preface of an excuſe for writing ſo friendly, and ſo neceſſary a Letter of Inquiry. It was your kindneſs to my perſon which directed your addreſſes hither; and your duty which ingag'd you to inquire ſomewhere.

I do not doubt but you, and very many other ingenious and conſcientious perſons, do

do every day meet with the Tempters of the *Roman* Church, who like the *Phariſees* compaſs ſea and Land to get a Proſelyte; at this I wonder not; for as *Demetrius* ſaid, by this craft they get their living: but I wonder that any ingenious perſon, and ſuch as I perceive you to be, can be ſhaken by their weak aſſaults: for their batteries are made up with impoſſible propoſitions, and weak and violent prejudices reſpectively; and when they talk of their own infallibility, they prove it with falſe Mediums (ſay we) with fallible Mediums as themſelves confeſs; and when they argue us of an Uncertain faith, becauſe we pretend to no infallibility, they are themſelves much more Uncertain, becauſe they build their pretence of infallibility upon that which not only can, but will deceive them: and ſince they can pretend no higher for their infallibility than prudential motives, they break in pieces the ſtaff upon which they lean, and with which they ſtrike us.

But Sir, you are pleaſed to ask two Queſtions. 1. Whether the Apoſtles of our Bleſſed Lord did not *Orally* deliver many

many things neceſſary to Salvation which were not committed to writing? To which you add this *aſſumentum* (in which becauſe you deſired to be anſwered, I ſuppoſe you meant it for another Queſtion) *viz.* whether in thoſe things which the Church of *Rome* retains, and we take no notice of, *She* be an Innovator, or a conſerver of Tradition; and whether any thing which *ſhe* ſo retains was or was not eſteemed neceſſary.

The anſwer to the firſt part, will conclude the ſecond. I therefore anſwer that whatſoever the Apoſtles did deliver as neceſſary to Salvation, all that was written in the Scriptures: and that to them who believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God, there needs no other Magazine of Divine truths but the Scripture. And this the Fathers of the firſt and divers ſucceeding Ages do Unanimouſly affirm. I will ſet down two or three, ſo plain that either you muſt conclude them to be deceivers, or that you will need no more but their teſtimony.

The

Ethic. definit. 26. The words of S. *Basil* are these, Δεῖ πᾶν ῥῆμα ἢ πρᾶγμα πιστοῦσθαι τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς, &c. Every word and every thing ought to be made credible, or believ'd by the testimony of the Divinely-inspired Scripture: both for the confirmation of good things, and also for the reproof of the evil.

S. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, *catech.* 12. *illuminat.* saith, Attend not to my inventions, for you may possibly be deceiv'd: but trust no word unless thou dost learn it from the Divine Scriptures: and in *Catech* 4. *illum.* Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, &c. For it behoves us not to deliver so much as the least thing μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν, of the Divine and holy mysteries of Faith without the Divine Scriptures, nor to be moved with probable discourses: Neither give credit to me speaking, unless what is spoken be demonstrated by the Holy Scriptures. For that is the security of our Faith, σωτηρία τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, which is derived not from witty inventions, but from the demonstration of Divine Scriptures.

Omne

Omne quod loquimur debemus affirmare de Scripturis Sanctis: ſo S. *Hierom* in *Pſal.* 89. And again, *Hoc quia de Scripturis authoritatem non habet, eadem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur*, in *Matth.* 23.

Si quid dicitur abſque Scripturâ auditorum cogitatio claudicat. So S. *Chryſoſtom* in *Pſal.* 95. *homil.*

Theodoret, dial. 1. *cap.* 6. brings in the *Orthodox* Chriſtian ſaying to *Eraniſtes*: bring not to me your Logiſmes and Syllogiſms, ἐγὼ γὰρ μόνῃ πείθομαι τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, I rely only upon Scriptures. I could reckon very, very many more, both elder and later: and if there be any Univerſal Tradition conſigned to us by the Univerſal Teſtimony of Antiquity: it is this, that the Scriptures are a perfect repoſitory of all the Will of God, of all the Faith of Chriſt: and this I will engage my ſelf to make very apparent to you, and certain againſt any oppoſer.

Upon the ſuppoſition of which it follows, that whatever the Church of *Rome* obtrudes

obtrudes as neceſſary to Salvation, and an Article of Faith that is not in Scripture, is an Innovation in matter of Faith, and a Tyranny over Conſciences: which whoſoever ſubmits to, prevaricates the rule of the Apoſtle, commanding us, that we ſtand faſt in the liberty, with which Chriſt hath ſet us free.

To the other Queſtions; Whether an Eccleſiaſtical Tradition be of equal authority with Divine? I anſwer Negatively: And I believe I ſhall have no adverſary in it, except peradventure ſome of the Jeſuited Bigots. An Eccleſiaſtical Tradition, *viz.* a poſitive conſtitution of the Church delivered from hand to hand; is in the power of the Church to alter: but a Divine is not. Eccleſiaſtical Traditions in matters of Faith there are none, but what are alſo Divine; as for Rituals Eccleſiaſtical deſcending by Tradition, they are confeſſedly alterable: but till they be altered by abrogation, or deſuetude, or contrary cuſtome, or a contrary reaſon, or the like, they do oblige by vertue of that authority whatſoever it is that hath power over you. I know not what D. *P. G.*

P. G. did ſay, but I am confident they who reported it of him, were miſtaken: He could not ſay or mean what is charged upon him.

I have but two things more to ſpeak to. One is, you deſire me to recite what elſe might impede your compliance with the *Roman* Church? I anſwer, Truth and Piety hinder you. For you muſt profeſs the belief of many falſe propoſitions, and certainly believe many Uncertain things, and be uncharitable to all the World but your own party, and make Chriſtianity a faction, and you muſt yield your reaſon a ſervant to man, and you muſt plainly prevaricate an inſtitution of Chriſt, and you muſt make an apparent departure from the Church in which you received your Baptiſm and the Spirit of God, if you go over to *Rome*. But Sir, I refer you to the two Letters I have lately publiſhed at the end of my diſcourſe of Friendſhip; and I deſire you to read my Treatiſe of the Real preſence: and if you can believe the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, you can put off your reaſon and your

your ſenſe, and your religion, and all the inſtruments of Credibility when you pleaſe: and theſe are not little things; In theſe you may periſh: an error in theſe things is practical; but our way is ſafe, as being upon the defence, and intirely reſting upon Scripture, and the Apoſtolical Churches.

The other thing I am to ſpeak to is, the report you have heard of my inclinations to go over to *Rome*. Sir, that party which needs ſuch lying ſtories for the ſupport of their Cauſe, proclaim their Cauſe to be very weak, or themſelves to be very evil Advocates. Sir, be confident, they dare not tempt me to do ſo, and it is not the firſt time they have endeavoured to ſerve their ends by ſaying ſuch things of me. But I bleſs God for it; it is perfectly a Slander, and it ſhall I hope, for ever prove ſo. Sir, if I may ſpeak with you, I ſhall ſay very many things more for your confirmation. Pray to God to guide you; and make no change ſuddenly: For if their way be true to day, it will be ſo to morrow; and you need not

not make haſte to undo your ſelf. Sir, I wiſh you a ſetled mind and a holy Conſcience; and that I could ſerve you in the capacity of

Your very Loving Friend and Servant in our Bleſſed Lord,

JER. TAYLOR.

The

The IV. Letter

To the ſame Perſon.

SIR,

I Perceive that You are very much troubled; and I ſee alſo that you are in great danger; but that alſo troubles me, becauſe I ſee they are little things and very weak and fallacious that move you. You propound many things in your Letter in the ſame diſorder as they are in your Conſcience: to all which I can beſt give anſwers when I ſpeak with you; to which becauſe you deſire, I invite you, and promiſe you a hearty endeavour to give you ſatisfaction in all your material inquiries. Sir, I deſire you to make no haſt to change, in caſe you be ſo miſerable as to have it in your thoughts: for to go over to the Church of *Rome* is like death, there

there is no recovery from thence without a Miracle; becauſe Unwary ſouls (ſuch are they who change from us to them) are with all the arts of wit and violence ſtrangely entangled and enſur'd, when they once get the prey. Sir, I thank you for the Paper you incloſed. The men are at a loſs, they would fain ſay ſomething againſt that Book, but know not what. Sir, I will endeavour if you come to me, to reſtore you to peace and quiet; and if I cannot effect it, yet I will pray for it and I am ſure, God can. To his Mercy I commend you and reſt

Your very affectionate
Friend in our
Bleſſed Lord,

JER. TAYLOR.

The

The V. Letter

To the ſame Perſon.

SIR,

THE firſt Letter which you mention in this latter of the 10*th*. of *March*, I received not; I had not elſe failed to give you an anſwer; I was ſo wholly unknowing of it, that I did not underſtand your Servant's meaning when he came to require an anſwer. But to your Queſtion which you now propound, I anſwer.

Queſt. Whether without all danger of Superſtition or Idolatry we may not render Divine worſhip to our Bleſſed Saviour, as preſent in the Bleſſed Sacrament or Hoſt, according to his Humane Nature in that Hoſt?

Anſw.

Anſw. We may not render Divine worſhip to him (as preſent in the Bleſſed Sacrament according to his Humane Nature) without danger of Idolatry: Becauſe he is not there according to his Humane Nature, and therefore, you give Divine worſhip to a *Non Ens*, which muſt needs be Idolatry. For *Idolum nihil eſt in mundo*, ſaith S. *Paul*, and Chriſt as preſent by his Humane Nature in the Sacrament is a *Non Ens*; for it is not true, there is no ſuch thing. He is preſent there by his Divine power, and his Divine Bleſſing, and the fruits of his Body, the real effective conſequents of his Paſſion: but for any other Preſence, it is *Idolum*, it is nothing in the world. Adore Chriſt in Heaven; for the Heavens muſt contain him till the time of reſtitution of all things. And if you in the reception of the Holy Sacrament worſhip him whom you know to be in Heaven; you cannot be concerned in duty to worſhip him in the Hoſt (as you call it) any more than to worſhip him in the Hoſt at *Noſtre Dame* when you are at S. *Peters* in *Rome*: for you ſee him no more in one place than another;

another; and if to believe him to be there in the Hoſt at *Noſtre Dame* be ſufficient to cauſe you to worſhip him there, then you are to do ſo to him at *Rome*, though you be not preſent: for you believe him there; you know as much of him by Faith in both places, and as little by ſenſe in either. But however, this is a thing of infinite danger. God is a jealous God: He ſpake it in the matter of external worſhip, and of idolatry; and therefore do nothing that is like worſhipping a meer creature, nothing that is like worſhipping that which you are not ſure it is God: and if you can believe the Bread when it is bleſſed by the Prieſt is God Almighty, you can if you pleaſe believe any thing elſe.

To the other parts of your Queſtion, *viz.* Whether the ſame body be preſent really and Subſtantially, becauſe we believe it to be there; or whether we do believe it to be there becauſe God hath manifeſtly revealed it to be ſo, and therefore we revere and adore it accordingly.

I anſwer, 1. I do not know whether or no you do believe Him to be there really and Subſtantially. 2. If you do believe it ſo, I do not know what you mean by really and Subſtantially. 3. Whatſoever you do mean by it, if you do believe it to be there really and Subſtantially in any ſenſe, I cannot tell why you believe it to be ſo: you beſt know your own reaſons and motives of belief; for my part, I believe it to be there really in the ſenſe I have explicated in my Book; and for thoſe reaſons which I have there alledged; but that we are to adore it upon that account, I no way underſtand. If it be Tranſubſtantiated and you are ſure of it: then you may pray to it, and put your truſt in it; and believe the Holy Bread to be co-eternal with the Father, and with the Holy Ghoſt. But it is ſtrange that the Bread being conſecrated by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould be turn'd into the ſubſtance and nature of God, and of the Son of God: if ſo, does not the Son at that time proceed from the Holy Ghoſt, and not the Holy Ghoſt from

from the Son? But I am aſhamed of the horrible propoſition. Sir, I pray God keep you from theſe extremeſt dangers. I love and value you, and will pray for you and be, Dear Sir,

Your very affectionate
Friend to ſerve you,

JER. TAYLOR.

A

DISCOURSE

PROVING

THAT THE

Christian Religion

IS FROM

GOD

Mr Royston,

'Tis reported You are making a new Impreſſion of ſome ſmall Tracts of Doctor Taylor, the late moſt Reverend Biſhop of Down; It will be very adviſable for You to take the Demonſtration of Chriſtian Religion, which is inſerted in his Caſes of Conſcience, pag. 124. of the firſt Edition, and let that follow the reſt; For 'tis a Diſcourſe which will be as uſeful for the generality of People in this Age, as any You can pick out of the whole Body of his Works; and being heretofore inſerted in the

middle of a large Book, is not made ſo common to them, nor ſo purchaſeable, as your purſuing this deſign will render it; and hereby you will do a work very acceptable to the Friends of Chriſtian Truth and Vertue, as well as to

Yours *A. B.*

A DISCOURSE *PROVING* THAT THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IS FROM GOD.

THis Diſcourſe of all the diſputables in the World, ſhall require the feweſt things to be granted; even nothing but what was evident, even nothing but the very ſubject of the Queſtion, *viz.* That there was ſuch a Man as Jeſus Chriſt, that he pretended ſuch things and taught ſuch Doctrines: for he that will prove theſe things to be from God, muſt be allowed that they were from ſomething

or other. But this poſtulate I do not ask for need, but for orders ſake and Art; for what the Hiſtories of that Age reported as a publick affair, as one of the moſt eminent tranſactions of the World, that which made ſo much noiſe, which cauſed ſo many changes, which occaſioned ſo many Wars, which divided ſo many hearts, which altered ſo many families, which procured ſo many deaths, which obtained ſo many Laws in favour, and ſuffered ſo many Reſcripts in the diſfavour of it ſelf; that which was not done in a corner, but was 33. Years and more in acting; which cauſed ſo many Sects, and was oppoſed by ſo much Art, and ſo much power that it might not grow, which filled the World with noiſe, which effected ſuch great changes in the bodies of Men by curing the diſeaſed, and ſmiting the contumacious or the hypocrites, which drew ſo many eyes, and filled ſo many tongues, and imployed ſo many pens, and was the *care* and the *queſtion* of the whole World at that time, and immediately after; that which was conſigned by publick acts and records of Courts, which was in the Books of friends and enemies, which came accompanied and remarked with Eclipſes and

and Stars and Prodigies of Heaven and Earth, that which the *Jews* even in ſpite and againſt their wills confeſſed, and which the witty adverſaries intending to overthrow, could never ſo much as challenge of want of truth in the matter of fact and ſtory; that which they who are infinitely concerned that it ſhould not be believed, or more, that it had never been, do yet only labour to make to appear not to have been Divine: Certainly, this thing is ſo certain that it was, that the defenders of it need not account it a kindneſs to have it preſuppoſed; for never was any ſtory in the world that had ſo many degrees of credibility, as the ſtory of the perſon, life and death of Jeſus Chriſt: And if he had not been a true Prophet, yet that he was in the world, and ſaid and did ſuch things cannot be denied; for even concerning *Mahomet* we make no queſtion but he was in the world, and led a great part of Mankind after him, and what was leſs proved we infinitely believe; and what all men ſay, and no man denies, and was notorious in it ſelf, of this we may make further inquiries whether it was all that which it pretended, for that it did make pretences and was in the

world,

world, needs no more probation.

But now whether Jesus Christ was sent from God and delivered the Will of God, we are to take accounts from all the things of the world which were on him, or about him, or from him. Consider first his person: he was foretold by all the Prophets: He, I say, for that appears by the event, and the correspondencies of their sayings to his person: he was described by infallible characterisms which did fit him, and did never fit any but him; for when he was born, then was the fulness of time, and the Messias was expected at the time when Jesus did appear, which gave occasion to many of the godly then to wait for him, and to hope to live till the time of his revelation: and they did so, and with a spirit of Prophecy which their own Nation did confess and honour, glorified God at the revelation: and the most excellent and devout persons that were conspicuous for their piety did then rejoyce in him, and confess him; and the expectation of him at that time was so publick and famous, that it gave occasion to divers impostors to abuse the credulity of the people in pretending to be the Messias; but not only the predictions of the time,

time, & the perfect Synchronisms did point him out, but at his birth a strange Star appeared, which guided certain Levantine Princes and Sages to the inquiry after him; a strange Star which had an irregular place and an irregular motion, that came by design, and acted by counsel, the counsel of the Almighty Guide, it moved from place to place, till it stood just over the House where the Babe did sleep; a Star of which the Heathen knew much, who knew nothing of him; a Star which *Chalcidius* affirmed to have signified the descent of God for the salvation of Man; a Star that guided the wise *Chaldees* to worship him with gifts (as the same disciple of *Plato* does affirm, and) as the holy Scriptures deliver; and this Star could be no secret; It troubled all the Country; It put *Herod* upon strange arts of security for his Kingdom, it effected a sad tragedy accidentally, for it occasioned the death of all the little Babes in the City, and voisinage of *Bethlehem*: But the birth of this young Child which was thus glorified by a Star, was also signified by an Angel, and was effected by the holy Spirit of God, in a manner which was in it self supernatural; a Virgin was his Mother,

Mother, and God was his Father, and his beginning was miraculous; and this matter of his birth of a Virgin was proved to an interested and jealous person, even to *Joseph* the supposed father of *Jesus*, it was affirmed publickly by all his family, & by all his disciples, and published in the midst of all his enemies, who by no artifice could reprove it, a matter so famous, that when it was urged as an argument to prove Jesus to be the Messias, by the force of a Prophecy in *Isaiah* [*A Virgin shall conceive a Son*] they who obstinately refused to admit him, did not deny the matter of fact, but denied that is was so meant by the Prophet, which if it were true, can only prove that Jesus was more excellent than was foretold by the Prophets, but that there was nothing less in him than was to be in the Messias; it was a matter so famous that the *Arabian* Physicians who can affirm no such things of their *Mahomet*, and yet not being able to deny it to be true of the Holy Jesus, endeavour to elevate and lessen the thing by saying, It is not wholly beyond the force of nature, that a Virgin should conceive, so that it was on all hands undeniable, that the Mother of Jesus was a Virgin, a Mother

without

without a Man. This is that Jesus at whose presence before he was born, a Babe in his Mothers belly also did leap for joy, who was also a person extraordinary himself, conceived in his Mothers old age, after a long barrenness, signified by an Angel in the Temple to his Father officiating his Priestly Office, who was also struck dumb for his not present believing: all the People saw it, and all his Kindred were witnesses of his restitution, and he was named by the Angel, and his office declared to be the fore-runner of the holy Jesus; and this also was foretold by one of the old Prophets; for the whole story of this Divine person is a chain of providence and wonder, every link of which is a verification of a Prophecy, and all of it is that thing which from *Adam* to the Birth of *Jesus* was pointed at and hinted by all the Prophets, whose words in him passed perfectly into the event. This is that Jesus who as he was born without a Father, so he was learned without a Master, he was a Man without age, a Doctor in a Child's garment, disputing in the Sanctuary at 12. Years old. He was a sojourner in *Egypt*, because the poor Babe born of an indigent Mother was a formida-

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ble rival to a potent King,& this fear could not come from the design of the Infant, but must needs arise from the illustriousness of the Birth, and the Prophecies of the Child, and the sayings of the Learned, and the journey of the Wise-men,and the decrees of God; this journey and the return were both managed by the conduct of an Angel and a Divine dream, for to the Son of God all the Angels did rejoyce to minister. This Blessed Person made thus excellent by his Father, and glorious by miraculous consignations, and illustrious by the ministery of Heavenly spirits, and proclaimed to *Mary* and to *Joseph* by two Angels, to the Shepherds by a Multitude of the Heavenly Host, to the Wise men by a Prophecy and by a Star, to the *Jews* by the Shepherds, to the *Gentiles* by the three Wise men, to *Herod* by the Doctors of the Law, and to himself perfectly known by the inchasing his humane nature in the bosom and heart of God,& by the fulness of the Spirit of God, was yet pleased for 30. Years together to live an humble,a laborious,a chaste & a devout, a regular and an even, a wise and an exemplar,a pious and an obscure life,without complaint, without sin,without design

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of fame, or grandeur of ſpirit, till the time came that the clefts of the rock were to open, and the Diamond give its luſtre, and be worn in the Diadems of Kings, and then this Perſon was wholly admirable; for he was uſhered into the World by the voice of a loud Crier in the Wilderneſs, a Perſon auſtere and wiſe, of a ſtrange life, full of holineſs and full of hardneſs, and a great Preacher of righteouſneſs, a Man believed by all the People that he came from God, one who in his own Nation gathered Diſciples publickly, and (which amongſt them was a great matter) he was the Doctor of a new inſtitution, & baptized all the Country, yet this man ſo great, ſo rever'd, ſo followed, ſo liſtned to by King and People, by Doctors and by ideots, by Phariſees and Sadducees, this man preached Jeſus to the People, pointed out the Lamb of God, told that he muſt increaſe, and himſelf from all that fame muſt retire to give him place; he receiv'd him to Baptiſm after having with duty and modeſty declared his own unworthineſs to give, but rather a worthineſs to receive Baptiſm from the holy hands of Jeſus; but at the ſolemnity God ſent down the holy Spirit upon his holy Son, and by a voice

voice from Heaven, a voice of thunder (and God was in that voice) declared that this was his Son, and that he was delighted in him. This voice from Heaven was ſuch, ſo evident, ſo certain a conviction of what it did intend to prove, ſo known and accepted as the way of Divine revelation under the ſecond Temple, that at that time every Man that deſired a ſign honeſtly, would have been ſatisfied with ſuch a voice; it being the teſtimony by which God made all extraordinaries to be credible to his People from the days of *Ezra*, to the death of the Nation; and that there was ſuch a voice, not only then, but divers times after, was as certain, & made as evident as things of that nature can ordinarily be made. For it being a matter of fact, cannot be ſuppoſed infinite, but limited to time and place, heard by a certain number of perſons, and was as a clap of Thunder upon ordinary accounts, which could be heard but by thoſe who were within the ſphere of its own activity; and reported by thoſe to others, who are to give teſtimony as teſtimonies are required, which are credible under the teſt of two or three diſintereſted, honeſt, and true Men, and though this was done

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in the presence of more, and oftner than once, yet it was a divine testimony but at first, but is to be conveyed by the means of Men; and as God thundred from Heaven at the giving of the Law, though that he did so, we have notice only from the Books of *Moses* received from the *Jewish* Nation; so he did in the days of the *Baptist*, and so he did to *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, and so he did in the presence of the *Pharisees* and many of the common People; and as it is not to be supposed that all these would joyn their divided interests, for & against themselves for the verification of a lye, so if they would have done it, they could not have done it without reproof of their own parties, who would have been glad by the discovery only to disgrace the whole story; but if the report of honest and just men so reputed, may be questioned for matter of fact, or may not be accounted sufficient to make faith when there is no pretence of Men to the contrary, besides that we can have no story transmitted to us, nor Records kept, no acts of Courts, no narratives of the days of old, no traditions of our Fathers; so there could not be left in nature any usual instrument whereby God could after

after the manner of Men declare his own will to us, but either we should never know the will of Heaven upon earth, or it must be that God must not only tell it *once* but *always*, and not only *always to some men*, but *always to all men*; and then as there would be no use of History, or the honesty of Men, and their faithfulness in telling any act of God in declaration of his will, so there would be perpetnal necessity of miracles, and we could not serve God directly with our understanding, for there would be no such thing as faith, that is, of assent without conviction of understanding, and we could not please God with believing, because there would be in it nothing of the will, nothing of love and choice; and that faith which is, would be like that of *Thomas*, to believe what we see or hear, & God should not at all govern upon Earth unless he did continually come himself: for thus, all Government, all Teachers, all Apostles, all Messengers would be needless, because they could not shew to the eye what they told to the ears of Men; And it might as well be disbelieved in all Courts and by all Princes, that this was not the letter of a Prince, or the act of a Man, or the writing

ting of his hand, and so all humane entercourse must cease, and all senses but the eye be useless as to this affair, or else to the ear all voices must be strangers but the principal, if I say, no reports shall make faith: But it is certain, that when these voices were sent from Heaven and heard upon Earth, they prevailed amongst many that heard them not, and Disciples were multiplied upon such accounts, or else it must be that none that did hear them could be believed by any of their friends and neighbours; for if they were, the voice was as effective at the reflex and rebound as in the direct emission, and could prevail with them that believed their brother or their friend, as certainly as with them that believed their own ears and eyes.

I need not speak of the vast numbers of miracles which he wrought; miracles which were not more demonstrations of his power than of his mercy; for they had nothing of pompousness and ostentation, but infinitely of charity and mercy, and that *permanent* and *lasting* and *often*: he opened the eyes of the blind, he made the crooked straight, he made the weak strong, he cured fevers with the touch of his hand, and an issue of bloud

bloud with the hem of his garment, and sore eyes with the spittle of his mouth and the clay of the earth; he multiplied the loaves and fishes, he raised the dead to life, a *young maiden*, the widows son of *Naim*, and *Lazarus*, and cast out Devils by the word of his mouth, which he could never do but by the power of God. For Satan does not cast out Satan, nor a house fight against it self, if it means to stand long, and the Devil could not help Jesus, because the holy Jesus taught Men vertue, called them from the worshipping Devils, taught them to resist the Devil, to lay aside all those abominable idolatries by which the Devil doth rule in the hearts of men: he taught men to love God, to fly from temptations to sin, to hate and avoid all those things of which the Devil is guilty, for Christianity forbids pride, envy, malice, lying, and yet affirms that the Devil is proud, envious, malicious, and the Father of lies; and therefore where ever Christianity prevails, the Devil is not worshipped, & therefore he that can think that a man without the power of God could over-turn the Devils principles, cross his designs, weaken his strengths, baffle him in his policies, befool

him

him and turn him out of possession, and make him open his own mouth against himself as he did often, & confess himself conquered by Jesus and tormented, as the Oracle did to *Augustus Cæsar*, and the Devil to *Jesus* himself, he I say, that thinks a meer man can do this, knows not the weaknesses of a man, nor the power of an Angel; but he that thinks this could be done by compact, and by consent of the Devil, must think him to be an Intelligence without understanding, a power without force, a fool and a sot to assist a power against himself, and to persecute the power he did assist, to stir up the World to destroy the Christians, whose Master and Lord he did assist to destroy himself; and when we read that *Porphyrius* an Heathen, a professed enemy to Christianity, did say, Ἀπὸ τιμωμένου τὰς θεῶν δημοσίας ὠφελείας οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτε, that since Jesus was worshipped, the gods could help no man, that is, the gods which they worshipped; the poor baffled enervated Dæmons: He must either think that the Devils are as fooliſh as they are weak, or else that they did nothing towards this declination of their power; and therefore that

Euseb lib. 5. c. 1. præp. Evang.

that they suffer it by a power higher than themselves, that is, by the power of God in the hand of Jesus.

But besides that God gave testimony from heaven concerning him; he also gave this testimony of himself to have come from God, because that *he did Gods will*; for he that is a good man and lives by the Laws of God and of his Nation, a life innocent and simple, prudent and wise, holy and spotless, unreproved and unsuspected, he is certainly by all wise men said in a good sense to be the son of God, but he who does well and speaks well, and calls all men to glorifie and serve God, and serves no ends but of holiness and charity, of wisdom of hearts and reformation of manners, this man carries great authority in his sayings, and ought to prevail with good men in good things, for good ends, which is all that is here required. But his nature was so sweet, his manners so humble, his words so wise and composed, his comportment so grave and winning, his answers so seasonable, his questions so deep, his reproof so severe & charitable, his pity so great and merciful, his preachings so full of reason and holiness, of weight and authority, his

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converſation ſo uſeful and beneficent, his poverty great but his alms frequent, his family ſo holy and religious, his and their imployment ſo profitable, his meekneſs ſo incomparable, his paſſions without difference, ſave only where zeal or pity carried him on to worthy and apt expreſſions, a perſon that never laughed, but often wept in a ſenſe of the calamities of others; he loved every man and hated no man, he gave counſel to the doubtful, and inſtructed the ignorant, he bound up the broken hearts, & ſtrengthened the feeble knees, he relieved the poor, and converted the ſinners, he deſpiſed none that came to him for relief, and as for thoſe that did not, he went to them; he took all occaſions of mercy that were offered him, and went abroad for more; he ſpent his days in Preaching and healing, and his nights in Prayers and converſation with God, he was obedient to Laws and ſubject to Princes, though he was the Prince of *Judæa* in right of his Mother, and of all the World in right of his Father; the People followed him, but he made no conventions, and when they were made, he ſuffered no tumults, when they would have made him a King he withdrew

himſelf, when he knew they would put him to death he offered himſelf; he knew mens hearts, and converſed ſecretly, and gave anſwer to their thoughts and prevented their queſtions; he would work a miracle rather than give offence, and yet ſuffer every offence rather than ſee God his Father diſhonored; he exactly kept the Law of *Moſes*, to which he came to put a period, and yet choſe to ſignifie his purpoſe only by doing acts of mercy upon their Sabbath, doing nothing which they ſhould call a breach of a Commandment, but healing ſick people, a charity which themſelves would do to beaſts, and yet they were angry at him for doing it to their brethren: In all his life, and in all his converſation with his Nation, he was innocent as an Angel of light, and when by the greatneſs of his worth, and the ſeverity of his doctrine, and the charity of his miracles, and the noiſes of the people, and his immenſe fame in all that part of the World, and the multitude of his diſciples, & the authority of his Sermons, and his free reproof of their hypocriſie, and his diſcovery of their falſe doctrines and weak traditions, he had branded the reputation of the vicious Rulers

lers of the People, and they resolved to put him to death, they who had the biggest malice in the World, and the weakest accusations, were forced to supply their want of articles against him by making truth to be his fault, and his office to be his crime, and his open confession of what was asked him to be his article of condemnation, and yet after all this they could not perswade the competent Judge to condemn him, or to find him guilty of any fault, and therefore they were forced to threaten him with *Cæsar*'s name, against whom then they would pretend him to be an enemy, though in their charge they neither proved, nor indeed laid it against him; and yet to whatsoever they objected he made no return, but his silence and his innocence were remarkable and evident, without labour and reply, and needed no more argument than the Sun needs an advocate to prove that he is the brightest star in the firmament.

Well, so it was, they crucified him, and when they did they did as much put out the eye of heaven as destroy the Son of God; for when with an incomparable sweetness, and a patience exemplar to all ages of sufferers, he endured affronts, examinations,

ſcorns, inſolencies of rude ungentle Tradeſmen, cruel whippings, injurious, unjuſt and unreaſonable uſages from thoſe whom he obliged by all the arts of endearment and offers of the biggeſt kindneſs, at laſt he went to death as to the work which God appointed him that he might become the Worlds ſacrifice, and the great example of holineſs, and the inſtance of repreſenting by what way the World was to be made happy [even by ſufferings and ſo entring into heaven] that he might (I ſay) become the Saviour of his Enemies, and the Elder Brother to his friends, and the Lord of Glory, and the fountain of its emanation. Then it was that God gave new teſtimonies from Heaven; The Sun was eclipſed all the while he was upon the Croſs, and yet the Moon was in the full; that is, he loſt his light, not becauſe any thing in nature did inveſt him, but becauſe the God of nature (as a Heathen at that very time confeſſed, who yet ſaw nothing of this ſad iniquity) did ſuffer. The rocks did rend, the veil of the Temple divided of it ſelf and opened the incloſures, and diſparked the Sanctuary, and made it pervious to the Gentiles eye; the dead aroſe, and appeared in *Jeruſalem*

ſalem to their friends, the Centurion and divers of the People ſmote their hearts, and were by theſe ſtrange indications convinced that he was the Son of God. His garments were parted, and lots caſt upon his inward coat, they gave him vinegar and gall to drink, they brake not a bone of him, but they pierced his ſide with a Spear, looking upon him whom they had pierced; according to the Prophecies of him, which were ſo clear and deſcended to minutes and circumſtances of his paſſion, that there was nothing left by which they could doubt whether this were he or no who was to come into the World: But after all this, that all might be finally verified and no ſcruple left, after three days burial, a great ſtone being rolled to the face of the grave and the ſtone ſealed, and a Guard of Souldiers placed about it, he aroſe from the grave, and for forty days together converſed with his followers & Diſciples, and beyond all ſuſpicion was ſeen of 500. Brethren at once, which is a number too great to give their conſent and teſtimony to a lye, and it being ſo publickly and confidently affirmed at the very time it was done, and for ever after urged by all Chriſtians, uſed

as the moſt mighty demonſtration, proclaimed, preached, talked of, even upbraided to the gain-ſayers, affirmed by eye-witneſſes, perſwaded to the kindred and friends and the relatives and companions of all thoſe 500. perſons who were eye-witneſſes, it is infinitly removed from a reaſonable ſuſpicion; and at the end of thoſe days was taken up into Heaven in the ſight of many of them, as *Elias* was in the preſence of *Eliſha*.

Now he of whom all theſe things are true, muſt needs be more than a meer man, and that they were true was affirmed by very many eye-witneſſes, Men who were innocent, plain men, men that had no bad ends to ſerve, men that looked for no preferment by the thing in this life; Men to whom their Maſter told they were to expect not Crowns and Scepters, not praiſe of men or wealthy poſſeſſions, not power and eaſe, but a voluntary caſting away care and attendance upon ſecular affairs that they might attend their Miniſtery; poverty and priſons, trouble and vexation, perſecution and labour, whippings and baniſhment, bonds and death, & for a reward they muſt ſtay till a good day came, but that was not

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to be at all in this World; and when the day of restitution and recompence should come, they should never know till it came, but upon the hope of this and the faith of Jesus, and the word of God so taught, so consigned, they must rely wholly and for ever. Now let it be considered, how could matters of fact be proved better? and how could this be any thing but such as to rely upon matters of fact? what greater certainty can we have of any thing that was ever done which we saw not, or heard not, but by the report of wise and honest persons? especially since they were such whose life and breeding was so far from ambition and pompousness, that as they could not naturally and reasonably hope for any great number of Proselytes, so the fame that could be hop'd for amongst them, as it must be a matter of their own procuring, and consequently uncertain, so it must needs be very inconsiderable, not fit to outweigh the danger and the loss, nor yet at all valuable by them whose education and pretences were against it? These we have plentifully. But if these Men are numerous and united, it is more. Then we have more; For so many did affirm these things which they

ſaw and heard, that Thouſands of People were convinced of the truth of them: But then if theſe men offer their oath, it is yet more, but yet not ſo much as we have, for they ſealed thoſe things with their bloud; they gave their life for a teſtimony; and what reward can any man expect, if he gives his life for a lye? who ſhall make him recompence, or what can tempt him to do it knowingly? But after all, it is to be remembred, that as God hates lying, ſo he hates incredulity; as we muſt not believe a lye, ſo neither ſtop up our eyes and ears againſt truth; and what we do every minute of our lives in matters of little and of great concernment, if we refuſe to do in our Religion which yet is to be conducted as other humane affairs are, by humane inſtruments and arguments of perſwaſion proper to the nature of the thing, it is an obſtinacy that is as contrary to humane reaſon as it is to Divine faith.

Theſe things relate to the *perſon* of the *holy Jeſus*, and prove ſufficiently that it was *extraordinary*, that it was *divine*, that *God was with him*, that his power wrought in him; and therefore that it was his will which Jeſus taught, and God ſigned. But then

then if nothing of all this had been, yet even the doctrine it self proves it self *Divine* and to come from God.

For it is a Doctrine perfective of humane nature, that teaches us to love God and to love one another, to hurt no man, and to do good to every man, it propines to us the noblest, the highest, & the bravest pleasures of the World; the joys of charity, the rest of innocence, the peace of quiet spirits, the wealth of beneficence, and forbids us only to be beasts and to be Devils, it allows all that God and nature intended, and only restrains the excrescencies of nature, and forbids us to take pleasure in that which is the only entertainment of Devils, in murders and revenges, malice and spiteful words and actions; it permits corporal pleasures where they can best minister to health and societies, to conversation of families and honour of Communities, it teaches men to keep their words that themselves may be secured in all their just interests, and to do good to others that good may be done to them; it forbids biting one another that we may not be devour'd by one another; and commands obedience to superiours, that we may not be ruined in confu-

ſions; it combines Governments, and confirms all good Laws, and makes peace, and oppoſes and prevents Wars where they are not juſt, and where they are not neceſſary. It is a Religion that is life and ſpirit, not conſiſting in ceremonies and external amuſements, but in the ſervices of the heart, and the real fruit of lips and hands, that is, of good words and good deeds; it bids us to do that to God which is agreeable to his excellencies, that is, worſhip him with the beſt things we have, and make all things elſe miniſter to it; it bids us to do that to our neighbour, by which he may be better: it is the perfection of the natural Law, and agreeable to our natural neceſſities, and promotes our natural ends and deſigns: it does not deſtroy reaſon, but inſtructs it in very many things, and complies with it in all, it hath in it both *heat* and *light*, and is not more effectual than it is beauteous; it promiſes every thing that we can deſire, and yet promiſes nothing but what it does effect; it proclaims war againſt all vices, & generally does command every vertue; it teaches us with eaſe to mortifie thoſe affections which reaſon durſt ſcarce reprove, becauſe ſhe hath not ſtrength enough

enough to conquer, and it does create in us thoſe vertues which reaſon of her ſelf never knew, and after they are known, could never approve ſufficiently: it is a doctrine in which nothing is ſuperfluous or burdenſome, nor yet is there any thing wanting which can procure happineſs to Mankind, or by which God can be glorified: and if wiſdom, and mercy, and juſtice, and ſimplicity, and holineſs, & purity, and meekneſs, and contentedneſs, and charity, be images of God and rays of Divinity, then that Doctrine in which all theſe ſhine ſo glorioufly, and in which nothing elſe is ingredient muſt needs be from God; and that all this is true in the Doctrine of Jeſus needs no other probation but the reading the words.

For that the words of Jeſus are contained in the Goſpels, that is, in the writings of them who were eye-witneſſes and ear-witneſſes of the actions and Sermons of Jeſus, is not at all to be doubted; for in every ſect we believe their own records of Doctrine and inſtitution; for it is madneſs to ſuppoſe the Chriſtians to pretend to be ſervants of the Laws of Jeſus, and yet to make a Law of their own which he made not: no

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man doubts but that the *Alcoran* is the Law of *Mahomet*, that the old Teſtament contains the Religion of the *Jews*; and the authority of theſe Books is proved by all the arguments of the Religion, for all the arguments perſwading to the Religion are intended to prove no other than is contained in thoſe Books; and theſe having been for 1500. years and more, received abſolutely by all Chriſtian Aſſemblies, if any man ſhall offer to make a queſtion of their authority, he muſt declare his reaſons, for the Diſciples of the Religion have ſufficient preſumption, ſecurity and poſſeſſion, till they can be reaſonably diſturb'd; but that now they can never be is infinitely certain, becauſe we have a long, immemorial, univerſal tradition that theſe Books were written in thoſe times, by thoſe men whoſe Names they bear, they were accepted by all Churches at the very firſt notice, except ſome few of the later, which were firſt received by ſome Churches, and then conſented to by all, they were acknowledged by the ſame, and by the next age for genuine, their authority publiſhed, their words cited, appeals made to them in all queſtions of Religion, becauſe it was known and confeſſed

confeſſed that they wrote nothing but that they knew, ſo that they were not deceived; and to ſay they would lie muſt be made to appear by ſomething extrinſecal to this inquiry, and was never ſo much as plauſibly pretended by any Adverſaries, and it being a matter of another mans will, muſt be declared by actions, or not at all. But beſides the men that wrote them were to be believed becauſe they did Miracles, they wrote Prophecies, which are verified by the event, perſons were cured at their Sepulchres, a thing ſo famous that it was confeſſed even by the enemies of the Religion: and after all, that which the World ought to rely upon, is the wiſdom and the providence and the goodneſs of God; all which it concerned to take care that the Religion, which himſelf ſo adorned and proved by miracles and mighty ſigns, ſhould not be loſt, nor any falſe writings be obtruded in ſtead of true, leſt without our fault the will of God become impoſſible to be obeyed. But to return to the thing. All thoſe excellent things which ſingly did make famous ſo many ſects of Philoſophers, and remarked ſo many Princes of their ſects, all them united, and many more which their

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eyes ὄμματα νυκτερίδων dark and dim could not ſee, are heaped together in this ſyſtem of wiſdom and holineſs. Here are plain precepts full of deepeſt myſtery; here are the meaſures of holineſs and approaches to God deſcrib'd; obedience and conformity, mortification of the body, and elevations of the ſpirit, abſtractions from earth, and Arts of ſociety and union with heaven, degrees of excellencies, and tendencies to perfection, imitations of God, and converſations with him; theſe are the heights and deſcents, upon the plain grounds of natural reaſon, and natural religion, for there is nothing commanded but what our reaſon by nature ought to chuſe, and yet nothing of natural reaſon taught but what is heightned and made more perfect by the Spirit of God; and when there is any thing in the Religion that is againſt fleſh and bloud, it is only when fleſh and bloud is againſt us, and againſt reaſon, when fleſh and bloud either would hinder us from great felicity, or bring us into great miſery: To conclude, it is ſuch a Law, that nothing can hinder men to receive and entertain, but a pertinacious baſeneſs & love to vice, and none can receive it but thoſe who reſolve

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to be good and excellent; and if the holy Jeſus had come into the World with leſs ſplendor of power and mighty demonſtrations, yet even the excellency of what he taught, makes him alone fit to be the Maſter of the World.

But then let us conſider what this excellent perſon did effect, and with what inſtruments he brought ſo great things to paſs. He was to put a period to the Rites of *Moſes*, and the Religion of the Temple, of which the *Jews* were zealous even unto pertinacy; to reform the manners of all Mankind, to confound the wiſdom of the Greeks, to break in pieces the power of the Devil, to deſtroy the worſhip of all falſe Gods, to pull down their Oracles, and change their Laws, and by principles wiſe and holy to reform the falſe diſcourſes of the World. But ſee what was to be taught, A Trinity in the Unity of the God-head, τρία ἓν καὶ ἓν τρία, that is the Chriſtian Arithmetick, *Three are one and one are three*, ſo *Lucian* in his *Philopatris*, or ſome other derides the Chriſtian Doctrine; See their Philoſophy, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. No: *Ex nihilo omnia*, all things are made of nothing; and a *Man God* and a *God Man*, the ſame perſon

ſon finite and infinite, born in time, and yet from all eternity, the Son of God, but yet born of a Woman, and ſhe a Maid, but yet a Mother; reſurrection of the dead, reunion of ſoul and body; this was part of the Chriſtian Phyſicks or their natural Philoſophy. But then certainly their moral was eaſie and delicious. It is ſo indeed, but not to fleſh and bloud, whoſe appetites it pretends to regulate or to deſtroy, to reſtrain or elſe to mortifie: *faſting* and *penance*, and *humility*, *loving our enemies*, *reſtitution of injuries*, and *ſelf-denial*, and *taking up the Croſs*, and *loſing all our goods*, and *giving our life for Jeſus*: As the other was hard to believe, ſo this is as hard to do. But for whom and under whoſe conduct was all this to be believed, and all this to be done, and all this to be ſuffered? ſurely for ſome glorious and mighty Prince, whoſe ſplendor as far out-ſhines the *Roman* Empire as the jewels of *Cleopatra* out-ſhined the ſwadling clothes of the Babe at *Bethlehem*. No, it was not ſo neither. For all this was for *Jeſus* whom his followers preached; a poor Babe born in a ſtable, the ſon of a Carpenter, cradled in a cratch, ſwadled in poor clouts; it was for him whom they indeed

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call'd a God, but yet whom all the World knew, and they themſelves ſaid, was whip'd at a Poſt, nailed to a Croſs; he fell under the malice of the *Jews* his Countrymen, and the power of his *Roman* Lords, a cheap and a pitiful ſacrifice without beauty and without ſplendor. The deſign is great, but does not yet ſeem poſſible; But therefore let us ſee what inſtruments the Holy Jeſus choſe to effect theſe ſo mighty changes, to perſwade ſo many propoſitions, to endear ſo great ſufferings, to overcome ſo great enemies, to maſter ſo many impoſſibilities which *this* Doctrine and *this* Law from *this* Maſter were ſure to meet withal.

Here, here it is that the Divinity of the power is proclaimed. When a Man goes to war he raiſes as great an Army as he can to out-number his Enemy, but when God fights, three hundred men that lap like a dogg are ſufficient; nay one word can diſſolve the greateſt army. He that means to effect any thing muſt have means of his own proportionable, and if they be not, he muſt fail, or derive them from the mighty. See then with what inſtruments the holy Jeſus ſets upon this great reformation of the world. Twelve men of obſcure and poor birth,

birth, of contemptible Trades and quality, without learning, without breeding; theſe men were ſent into the midſt of a knowing and wiſe World to diſpute with the moſt famous Philoſophers of *Greece*, to outwit all the learning of *Athens*, to out-preach all the *Roman* Orators; to introduce into a newly ſetled Empire, which would be impatient of novelties and change, ſuch a change as muſt deſtroy all their Temples, or remove thence all their gods: againſt which change all the zeal of the World, and all the paſſions, and all the ſeeming pretences which they could make, muſt needs be violently oppoſed: a change that introduced new Laws, and cauſed them to reverſe the old, to change that Religion under which their Fathers long did proſper, and under which the *Roman* Empire obtained ſo great a grandeur, for a Religion which in appearance was ſilly and humble, meek and peaceable, not apt indeed to do harm, but expoſing men to all the harm in the world, abateing their courage, blunting their ſwords, teaching peace & unactiveneſs, and making the Souldiers arms in a manner uſeleſs, and untying their military girdle; a Religion which contradicted their reaſons of State,

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and erected new Judicatories, and made the *Roman* Courts to be ſilent and without Cauſes; a Religion that gave countenance to the poor and pitiful (but in a time when riches were adored, and ambition eſteemed the greateſt nobleneſs, & pleaſure thought to be the chiefeſt good) it brought no peculiar bleſſing to the rich or mighty, unleſs they would become poor and humble in ſome real ſenſe or other; a Religion that would change the face of things, and would alſo pierce into the ſecrets of the ſoul, and unravel all the intrigues of hearts, and reform all evil manners, and break vile habits into gentleneſs and counſel: that ſuch a Religion in ſuch a time, preached by ſuch mean perſons, ſhould triumph over the Philoſophy of the World, and the arguments of the ſubtle, and the Sermons of the eloquent, and the power of Princes, and the intereſt of States, and the inclinations of nature, and the blindneſs of zeal, and the force of cuſtom, and the pleaſures of ſin, and the buſie Arts of the Devil, that is, againſt wit, and power, and money, and Religion, and wilfulneſs, and fame, and Empire, which are all the things in the World that can make a thing impoſſible; this I ſay could not be

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by the proper force of ſuch inſtruments; for no Man can ſpan Heaven with an Infants palm, nor govern wiſe Empires with Diagrams. It were impudence to ſend a footman to command *Cæſar* to lay down his arms, to disband his legions, & throw himſelf into *Tyber*, or keep a Tavern next to *Pompeys* Theatre; but if a ſober man ſhall ſtand alone unarm'd, undefended, or unprovided, and ſhall tell that he will make the Sun ſtand ſtill, or remove a Mountain, or reduce *Xerxes* his Army to the ſcantling of a ſingle Troop, he that believes he will and can do this, muſt believe he does it by a higher power than he can yet perceive, and ſo it was in the preſent tranſaction. For that the holy Jeſus made inviſible powers to do him viſible honors, that his Apoſtles hunted the Dæmons from their Tripods, their Navels, their Dens, their hollow Pipes, their Temples, and their Altars, that he made the Oracles ſilent, as *Lucian*, *Porphyrie*, *Celſus*, and other Heathens confeſs; that againſt the order of new things, which let them be never ſo profitable or good, do yet ſuffer reproach, and cannot prevail unleſs they commence in a time of advantage and favour, yet that this ſhould flouriſh like the Palm

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by preſſure, grow glorious by oppoſition, thrive by perſecution, and was demonſtrated by objections, argues a higher cauſe than the immediate inſtrument; now how this higher cauſe did intervene is viſible and notorious: the Apoſtles were not learned, but the holy Jeſus promiſed that he would ſend down wiſdom from above, from the Father of ſpirits; they had no power, but they ſhould be inveſted with power from on high; they were *ignorant* and *timorous*, but he would make them *learned* and *confident*, and ſo he did: he promiſed that in a few days he would ſend the holy Ghoſt upon them, & he did ſo, after ten days they felt and ſaw a glorious immiſſion from heaven, lights of movable fire ſitting upon their heads, and that light did illuminate their hearts, and the mighty ruſhing wind inſpired them with a power of ſpeaking divers languages, & brought to their remembrances all that Jeſus did and taught, and made them wiſe to conduct ſouls, and bold to venture, and prudent to advice, and powerful to do miracles, and witty to convince gain-ſayers, and hugely inſtructed in the Scriptures, and gave them the ſpirit of Government, and the ſpirit of Prophecy. This thing

thing was so publick that at the first notice of it three thousand souls were converted on that very day, at the very time when it was done; for it was certainly a visible demonstration of an invisible power, that ignorant persons who were never taught, should in an instant speak all the Languages of the *Roman* Empire; and indeed this thing was so necessary to be so, and so certain that it was so, so publick & so evident, and so reasonable, & so useful, that it is not easie to say whether it was the indication of a greater power, or a greater wisdom; and now the means was proportionable enough to the biggest end; without learning they could not confute the learned World; but therefore God became their Teacher: without power they could not break the Devils violence, but therefore God gave them power; without courage they could not contest against all the violence of the Jews and Gentiles, but therefore God was their strength and gave them fortitude; without great caution and providence they could not avoid the traps of crafty Persecutors, but therefore God gave them caution, and made them provident, and as *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab* received the spirit of God, the spirit

ſpirit of underſtanding to enable them to work excellently in the Tabernacle, ſo had the Apoſtles to make them wiſe for the work of God and the Miniſteries of his Diviner Tabernacle, *which God pitched, not man.* Immediately upon this, the Apoſtles to make a fulneſs of demonſtration and an undeniable conviction gave the ſpirit to others alſo, to *Jews* and *Gentiles* and to the Men of *Samaria*, and they ſpake with Tongues and propheſied, then they preached to all Nations, and endured all perſecutions and cured all diſeaſes, and raiſed the dead to life, and were brought before Tribunals, and confeſſed the Name of Jeſus, and convinced the blaſphemous Jews out of their own Prophets, and not only prevailed upon Women and weak Men, but even upon the braveſt and wiſeſt. All the diſciples of *John* the *Baptiſt*, the *Nazarens* and *Ebionites*, *Nicodemus* and *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, *Sergius* the *Preſident*, *Dionyſius* an *Athenian Judge*, and *Polycarpus*, *Juſtinus* and *Ireneus*, *Athenagoras* and *Origen*, *Tertullian* and *Clemens of Alexandria*, who could not be ſuch fools as upon a matter not certainly true but probably falſe, to unravel their former principles, and to change their liberty for

for a Priſon, wealth for poverty, honor for diſreputation, life for death, if by ſuch exchange they had not been ſecured of truth and holineſs and the will of God.

But above all theſe was *Saul*, a bold and a witty, a zealous and learned young man, who going with Letters to perſecute the Chriſtians of *Damaſcus*, was by a light from Heaven called from his furious march, reproved by God's Angel for perſecuting the cauſe of Jeſus, was ſent to the City, baptized by a Chriſtian Miniſter, inſtructed and ſent abroad, and he became the prodigy of the World for learning and zeal, for preaching and writing, for labour and ſufferance, for government and wiſdom; he was admitted to ſee the holy Jeſus after the Lord was taken into Heaven, he was taken up into Paradiſe, he converſed with Angels, he ſaw unſpeakable rayes of glory, and beſides that himſelf ſaid it, who had no reaſon to lie, who would get nothing by it here but a conjugation of troubles, and who ſhould get nothing by it hereafter if it were falſe; beſides this I ſay, that he did all thoſe acts of zeal and obedience for the promotion of the Religion does demonſtrate he had reaſon extraordinary for ſo

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ſudden a change, ſo ſtrange a labour, ſo frequent and incomparable ſufferings: and therefore as he did & ſuffered ſo much upon ſuch glorious motives, ſo he ſpared not to publiſh it to all the world, he ſpake it to Kings and Princes, he told it to the envious Jews; he had partners of his journey who were witneſſes of the miraculous accident, and in his publication he urged the notoriouſneſs of the fact, as a thing not feigned, not private, but done at noon day under the Teſt of competent perſons, and it was a thing that proved it ſelf, for it was effective of a *preſent*, a *great*, and a *permanent* change.

But now it is no new wonder but a purſuance of the ſame conjugation of great and Divine things, that the Fame and Religion of Jeſus was with ſo incredible a ſwiftneſs ſcattered over the face of the habitable World, from one end of the earth unto the other; it filled all *Aſia* immediately, it paſſed preſently to *Europe*, and to the furtheſt *Africans*, and all the way it went it told nothing but an holy and an humble ſtory, that he who came to bring it into the world, died an ignominious death, and yet this death did not take away their courage, but added

much: for they could not fear death for that Maſter, whom they knew to have for their ſakes ſuffered death, and came to life again. But now infinite numbers of perſons of all ſexes, and all ages, and all Countries came in to the *Holy Crucifix*, and he that was crucified in the reign of *Tiberius*, was in the time of *Nero*, even in *Rome* it ſelf, & in *Nero*'s family by many perſons eſteem'd for a God; and it was upon publick record that he was ſo acknowledged; and this was by a Chriſtian, *Juſtin Martyr*, urged to the Senate, and to the Emperors themſelves, who if it had been otherwiſe could eaſily have confuted the bold allegation of the Chriſtian, who yet did die for that Jeſus who was ſo ſpeedily reputed for a God; the Croſs was worn upon breaſts, printed in the air, drawn upon fore-heads, carried on banners, put upon crowns Imperial; and yet the Chriſtians were ſought for to puniſhments, and exquiſite puniſhments ſought forth for them; their goods were confiſcate, their names odious, priſons were their houſes, and ſo many kinds of tortures invented for them that *Domitius Ulpianus* hath ſpent ſeven Books in deſcribing the variety of tortures the poor Chriſtian

stian was put to at his first appearing, and yet in despite of all this, and ten thousand other objections and impossibilities, whatsoever was for them made the Religion grow, and whatsoever was against them made it grow; if they had peace, the Religion was prosperous, if they had persecution, it was still prosperous: if Princes favored them, the World came in because the Christians lived holily; if Princes were incensed, the World came in because the Christians died bravely. They sought for death with greediness, they desired to be grinded in the teeth of Lions, and with joy they beheld the wheels and the bended trees, the racks and the gibbets, the fires and the burning irons, which were like the chair of *Elias* to them, instruments to carry them to heaven, into the bosom of their beloved Jesus.

Who would not acknowledge the Divinity of this person, & the excellency of this institution, that should see Infants to weary the hands of Hangmen for the testimony of Jesus? and wise men preach this doctrine for no other visible reward, but shame and death, poverty and banishment? and Hangmen converted by the bloud of Mar-

tyrs ſpringing upon their faces which their impious hands and cords have ſtrain'd through their fleſh? who would not have confeſſed the honor of Jeſus, when he ſhould ſee miracles done at the Tombs of Martyrs, and Devils tremble at the mention of the name of Jeſus, & the World running to the honour of the poor *Nazaren*, and Kings and Queens kiſſing the feet of the poor ſervants of Jeſus? Could a few Fiſhermen and a Publican effect all this for the ſon of a poor Maiden of *Judæa*? can we ſuppoſe all the World, or ſo great a part of Mankind can conſent by chance, or ſuffer ſuch changes for nothing? or for any thing leſs than this? The ſon of the poor Maiden was the Son of God, and the Fiſhermen ſpake by a Divine ſpirit, and they catched the World with holineſs & miracles, with wiſdom and power bigger than the ſtrength of all the *Roman* Legions. And what can be added to all this, but this thing alone to prove the Divinity of Jeſus? He is a God, or at leaſt is taught by God who can foretel future contingencies; and ſo did the holy Jeſus, and ſo did his Diſciples.

Our bleſſed Lord while he was alive foretold that after his death his Religion ſhould flouriſh

flouriſh more than when he was alive: He foretold Perſecutions to his Diſciples; he foretold the miſſion of the holy Ghoſt to be in a very few days after his Aſcenſion, which within ten days came to paſs; he propheſied that the fact of *Mary Magdalen* in anointing the head and feet of her Lord, ſhould be publick and known as the Goſpel it ſelf, and ſpoken of in the ſame place; he foretold the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and the ſigns of its approach, and that it ſhould be by War, and particularly after the manner of Prophets ſymbolically, nam'd the Nation ſhould do it; pointing out the *Roman* Eagles, he foretold his death, and the manner of it, and plainly before-hand publiſhed his Reſurrection, and told them it ſhould be the ſign to that generation, *viz.* the great argument to prove him to be the Chriſt, he propheſied that there ſhould ariſe falſe Chriſts after him, and it came to paſs to the extreme great calamity of the Nation; and laſtly, he foretold that his beloved Diſciple S. *John* ſhould tarry upon the earth till his coming again, that is, to his coming to Judgment upon *Jeruſalem*; and that his Religion ſhould be preached to the Gentiles, that it ſhould be ſcattered over

all the World, and be received by all Nations, that it ſhould ſtay upon the face of the Earth till his laſt coming to judge all the world, and that *the gates of hell ſhould not be able to prevail againſt his Church*; which Prophecie is made good thus long, till this day, and is as a continual argument to juſtifie the Divinity of the Author: The continuance of the Religion helps to continue it, for it proves that it came from God, who foretold that it ſhould continue; and therefore it muſt continue becauſe it came from God, and therefore it came from God becauſe it does and ſhall for ever continue according to the word of the holy Jeſus.

But after our bleſſed Lord was entred into glory, the diſciples alſo were Prophets; *Agabus* foretold the dearth that was to be in the *Roman* Empire in the days of *Claudius Cæſar*, and that S. *Paul* ſhould be bound at *Jeruſalem*; S. *Paul* foretold the entring in of Hereticks into *Aſia* after his departure; and he and S. *Peter* and S. *Jude* and generally the reſt of the Apoſtles had two great predictions, which they uſed not only as a verification of the doctrine of Jeſus, but as a means to ſtrengthen the hearts of the Diſciples who were ſo broken with perſe-

perſecution: The one was, that there ſhould ariſe a Sect of vile men who ſhould be enemies to Religion and Government, and cauſe a great Apoſtaſie, which happened notoriouſly in the Sect of the Gnoſticks, which thoſe three Apoſtles and S. *John* notoriouſly and plainly do deſcribe: And the other was, that although the Jewiſh Nation did mightily oppoſe the Religion, it ſhould be but for a while, for they ſhould be deſtroyed in a ſhort time, and their Nation made extremely miſerable; but for the Chriſtians, if they would fly from *Jeruſalem* and go to *Pella*, there ſhould not a hair of their head periſh: the verification of this Prophecy the Chriſtians extremely long'd for and wondred it ſtaid ſo long, and began to be troubled at the delay, and ſuſpected all was not well, when the great proof of their Religion was not verified; and while they were in thoughts of heart concerning it, the ſad *Catalyſis* did come, and ſwept away 1100000. of the Nation, and from that day forward the Nation was broken in pieces with intolerable calamities, they are ſcattered over the face of the earth, & are a vagabond Nation, but yet like *oyl* in a veſſel of wine, broken into bubbles but kept in their

own circles, and they ſhall never be an united people till they are ſervants of the holy Jeſus; but ſhall remain without Prieſt or Temple, without Altar or Sacrifice, without City or Country, without the Land of Promiſe, or the promiſe of a bleſſing, till our Jeſus is their high Prieſt, and the Shepherd to gather them into his fold: And this very thing is a mighty demonſtration againſt the Jews by their own Prophets, for when *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah*, and *Malachi* had Propheſied the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles, & the change of the old Law, and the introduction of a new by the Meſſias, that this was he, was therefore certain, becauſe he taught the World a new Law, and preſently after the publication of this, the old was abrogate, and not only went into deſuetude, but into a total abolition among all the World, and for thoſe of the remnant of the ſcatterd Jews who obſtinately blaſpheme, the Law is become impoſſible to them, and they placed in ſuch circumſtances that they need not diſpute concerning its obligation: for it being *external* & *corporal*, *ritual* and at laſt made alſo *local*, when the circumſtances are impoſſible, the Law that was wholly ceremonial

monial and circumſtantial muſt needs paſs away, and when they have loſt their Prieſthood, they cannot retain the Law, as no man takes care to have his beard ſhaved when his head is off.

And it is a wonder to conſider how the anger of God is gone out upon that miſerable people, and that ſo great a blindneſs is fallen upon them, it being evident and notorious, that the old Teſtament was nothing but a ſhadow & umbrage of the new, that the Prophecies of that are plainly verified in this; that all the predictions of the Meſſias are moſt undeniably accompliſhed in the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo that they cannot with any plauſibleneſs or colour be turned any other way, and be applied to any other perſon, although the Jews make illiterate allegations, and prodigious dreams, by which they have fool'd themſelves for 1600. years together, and ſtill hope without reaſon, & are confident without revelation, and purſue a ſhadow while they quit the glorious body; while in the mean time the *Chriſtian* prays for his converſion, and is at reſt in the truth of Jeſus, and hath certain unexpreſſible confidencies and internal lights, clarities of the holy Spirit

rit of God, and loves to the holy Jeſus produc'd in his ſoul, that he will die when he cannot diſpute, and is ſatisfied and he knows not how, and is ſure by comforts, and comforted by the excellency of his belief, which ſpeaks nothing but holineſs, and light and reaſon, and peace and ſatisfactions infinite, becauſe he is ſure that all the World can be happy if they would live by the Religion of Jeſus, and that neither ſocieties of Men nor ſingle perſons can have felicity but by this, and that therefore God who ſo decrees to make Men happy, hath alſo decreed that it ſhall for ever be upon the face of the earth, till the earth it ſelf ſhall be no more. *Amen.*

Now if againſt this vaſt heap of things any Man ſhall but confront the pretences of any other Religion, and ſee how they fail both of reaſon and holineſs, of wonder and Divinity, how they enter by force, and are kept up by humane intereſts, how ignorant and unholy, how unlearned and pitiful are their pretences, the darkneſſes of theſe muſt add great eminency to the brightneſs of that. For the Jews Religion which came from Heaven is therefore not now to be practiſed, becauſe it did come from

from Heaven, and was to expire into the Chriſtian, it being nothing but the image of this perfection; and the Jews needed no other argument but this, that God hath made theirs impoſſible now to be done, for he that ties to Ceremonies and outward uſages, Temples and Altars, Sacrifices and Prieſts, troubleſome and expenſive rites and figures of future ſignification, means that there ſhould be an abode & fixt dwelling, for theſe are not to be done by an ambulatory people; and therefore ſince God hath ſcattered the People into atomes and crumbs of ſociety, without Temple or Prieſt, without Sacrifice or Altar, without *Urim* or *Thummim*, without Prophet or Viſion, even communicating with them no way but by ordinary providence, it is but too evident, that God hath nothing to do with them in the matter of that Religion, but that it is expired, and no way obligatory to them or pleaſing to him which is become impoſſible to be acted; whereas the Chriſtian Religion is as eternal as the ſoul of a Man, and can no more ceaſe than our ſpirits can die, and can worſhip upon Mountains and Caves, in Fields and Churches, in peace and war, in ſolitude and ſociety, in perſecution and

and in Sun-ſhine, by night and by day, and be ſolemnized by Clergy and Laity in the eſſential parts of it, and is the perfection of the ſoul, and the higheſt reaſon of Man, and the glorification of God.

But for the Heathen religions it is evidently to be ſeen, that they are nothing but an abuſe of the natural inclination which all Men have to worſhip a God, whom becauſe they know not, they gueſs at in the dark; for that they know there is and ought to be ſomething that hath the care and providence of their affairs. But the body of their Religion is nothing but little arts of Governments, and ſtratagems of Princes, and devices to ſecure the Government of new Uſurpers, or to make obedience to the Laws ſure, by being ſacred, and to make the yoke that was not natural, pleaſant by ſomething that is. But yet for the whole body of it who ſees not that their worſhippings could not be ſacred, becauſe they were done by ſomething that is impure, they appeaſed their gods with adulteries & impure mixtures, by ſuch things which *Cato* was aſhamed to ſee, by gluttonous eatings of fleſh, and impious drinkings, and they did *litare in humano ſanguine*, they ſacrificed Men

Men and Women and Children to their *Daemons*, as is notorious in the rites of *Bacchus Omeſta* amongſt the Greeks, and of *Jupiter*, to whom a Greek and a Greekeſs, a Galatian and a Galateſs were yearly offered, in the anſwers of the Oracles to *Calchas*, as appears in *Homer* and *Virgil*; who ſees not that crimes were warranted by the example of their immortal gods, and that what did diſhonor themſelves, they ſang to the honour of their gods, whom they affirmed to be paſſionate and proud, jealous and revengeful, amorous and luſtful, fearful and impatient, drunken and ſleepy, weary and wounded, that the Religions were made laſting by policy and force, by ignorance, and the force of cuſtom, by the preferring an inveterate error, and loving of a quiet and proſperous evil, by the arguments of pleaſure, and the correſpondencies of ſenſuality, by the fraud of Oracles, and the patronage of vices, and becauſe they feared every change as an Earthquake, as ſuppoſing overturnings of their old error to be the everſion of their well eſtabliſhed Governments: and it had been ordinarily impoſſible that ever Chriſtianity ſhould have entered, if the nature and excellency of it had

had not been ſuch as to enter like rain into a fleece of wool, or the Sun into a window without noiſe or violence, without emotion and diſordering the political conſtitution, without cauſing trouble to any man but what his own ignorance or peeviſhneſs was pleaſed to ſpin out of his own bowels, but did eſtabliſh Governments, ſecure obedience, made the Laws firm, and the perſons of Princes to be ſacred; it did not oppoſe force by force, nor *ſtrike Princes for Juſtice*; it defended it ſelf againſt enemies by patience, and overcame them by kindneſs, it was the great inſtrument of God to demonſtrate his power in our weakneſſes, and to do good to Mankind by the imitation of his excellent goodneſs.

Laſtly, he that conſiders concerning the Religion and perſon of *Mahomet*, that he was a vicious perſon, luſtful and tyrannical, that he propounded incredible and ridiculous propoſitions to his Diſciples, that it entred by the ſword, by bloud and violence, by murder and robbery, that it propounds ſenſual rewards and allures to compliance by bribing our baſeſt luſts, that it conſerves it ſelf by the ſame means it entred; that it is unlearned and fooliſh, againſt

gainſt reaſon, and the diſcourſes of all wiſe Men, that it did no miracles and made falſe Prophecies: in ſhort, that in the perſon that founded it, in the article it perſwades, in the manner of prevailing, in the reward it offers it is unholy and fooliſh and rude; it muſt needs appear to be void of all pretence, and that no Man of reaſon can ever be fairly perſwaded by arguments, that it is the daughter of God and came down from Heaven. Since therefore there is nothing to be ſaid for any other Religion, and ſo very much for Chriſtianity, every one of whoſe pretences can be proved as well as the things themſelves do require, and as all the World expects ſuch things ſhould be proved; it follows that the holy Jeſus is the Son of God, that his Religion is commanded by God, and is that way by which he will be worſhipped and honoured, and that *there is no other name under heaven by which we can be ſaved, but only by the name of the Lord Jeſus*. He that puts his ſoul upon this cannot periſh; neither can he be reproved who hath ſo much reaſon and argument for his Religion. *Sit anima mea cum Chriſtianis*; I pray God my ſoul may be numbred amongſt the Chriſtians.

THE END.